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ABSTRACT

This document contains the proceedings of a high-level conference on the Employment of Women, attended by labor ministers and other high officials of countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Delegates to the conference adopted a 14-point declaration pledging themselves to achieve equality of opportunity particularly for the conditions in the employment of women. During the conference, the representatives examined (1) the implication of high and rising participation rates of women workers in the various countries, despite slack labor markets since the mid-1970's and (2) the persistence of labor market segregation despite equal opportunity policies already practiced in most member countries. This report presents the declaration drawn up by the conference, the analytical papers for the conference, and the opening addresses by the secretary-general of the OECD and the Minister of Labor of Denmark, who served as president of the conference. A list of participants and observers is included in the appendix to the document. (EC)

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WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

POLICIES FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

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PREFACE

At a High Level Conference on the Employment of Women, Labour Ministers and other high officials of OECD countries adopted a fourteen-point Declaration pledging themselves to achieve equality of opportunity and of conditions in the employment of women.

The Conference, held at OECD Headquarters in Paris on 16 and 17 April 1980, grew out of a five-year study by a Working Party on the Role of Women in the Economy, which was established in 1974 by the OECD Manpower and Social Affairs Committee. Its mandate was to identify problems related to the changing position of women in the labour market. Its report, which also specified some of the policy measures that could be adopted, was published in 1979 as Equal Opportunities for Women.

Based on that study, Member countries agreed to hold the High Level Conference to examine: a) the implication of high and rising participation rates of women workers, despite slack labour markets since the mid-1970s, and b) the persistence of labour market segregation despite equal opportunity policies already practiced in most Member countries.

The present report, Women and Employment, presents the Declaration of the Conference, the analytical papers for the Conference, and the opening addresses by Mr. Emile van Lennep, Secretary-General of the OECD and by Mr. Svend Auken, Minister of Labour of Denmark and President of the Conference.

Part One

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

STATEMENT

by Mr. Emile van Lennep
Secretary-General
of the OECD

In the last quarter century, the OECD countries have witnessed a remarkable change in the position of women in the economy. The Second World War led to a massive increase of women's economic activity, and the period of rapid economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s consolidated and amplified this trend. Today, we recognise women as an important and permanent part not only of the labour force but of the human capital invested in economic life, with an increasing range of aspirations and needs that reflect deep-seated changes in the goals and institutions of our liberal democracies. Their employment is thus a fundamental issue, affecting the general economic and social future of the OECD countries.

I think it would be appropriate for me, as the Secretary-General of the Organisation, to concentrate my opening remarks on the economic and labour market background to the rising participation of women in employment, and to draw your attention to those features of the present situation which, because they are so different from what we experienced until quite recently, are giving rise to serious labour market problems.

The rapidly accelerating involvement of women in paid employment was an integral feature of the era of rapid economic growth from the Second World War to the early 1970s. However, the rising participation was not only a response to an excess demand for labour which pulled women into the labour market; the fact that women's participation has continued to rise during the period of slow growth since 1974 shows that other factors have been pushing women in. Some of these "push" factors are associated with the changed role and structure of the family and women's place in it: the decline in the number of children is only one, but probably a very important explanation of why older married women returned to work after their children had grown up, and why mothers with young children remained in paid employment.

These complex changes are part of the sweeping economic and social developments in liberal democracies since the Second World War,

and reflect the increasing opportunities for individuals to exercise their choices between more paid employment, more leisure or more children. They also reflect the adaptability of the social and economic institutions of our liberal democracies, such as families and private enterprises, in which the individual's choices become effective.

But whatever the causes, the result has been a dramatic change in the composition of the labour force during the last quarter century. Today, women are about 40 per cent of the total labour force, and in many countries over 50 per cent of women in the 15-64 age group are in paid employment. It is undoubtedly a tribute to the dynamism of our economies that such a great social change could be absorbed in the space of a couple of decades. The question is, can it go on at the same pace in the present more difficult circumstances of the OECD economies?

During the past few years, various constraints - in particular virulent inflation - have prevented most of our countries from achieving rates of economic growth sufficient to provide enough jobs for all those coming onto the labour market. This is not a situation that can be accepted indefinitely, and, indeed, I believe we can do better in the 1980s. But there is no immediate prospect of a rapid return to the unusually happy conjunction of a rapidly growing labour force and rising employment opportunities which characterised the earlier post-war period.

Moreover, in the earlier period of rapid output and employment growth, important social legislation and changes, like minimum wages, while they raised the costs of employment, could be absorbed without any serious effects on employment. In a different and more inflationary economic situation, such legislation and changes will have different employment implications.

Not all of our countries are in the same situation. In some, the effect of demographic change, associated with previous cycles in birthrates, may create labour shortages by the mid-1980s. But in others labour surplus may persist until the final years of the decade if present trends in real income and labour force growth persist.

The first consequence of this situation is that it is imperative to look at the labour market situation as a whole. We cannot have separate policies for young people, for women, for the handicapped and the elderly without relating them to the general labour market situation. The labour market, since the onset of the recession after 1974, seems to be operating to the detriment of the newcomers and the weak groups in the labour market. Unemployment appears to fall hardest on such groups.

It is of course imperative to help the weak, but we cannot ignore the possibility that special action by public authorities may raise

the cost to employers and, in consequence, in conditions of weak demand for labour, make their employment more difficult. Similarly, child-care facilities, maternity leave, and social security provisions - and in some instances equal pay - may affect the costs of production in such a way as to be detrimental to employment, and in consequence detrimental to the employment and welfare of women themselves. There is no easy way out of this dilemma, but it needs to be faced squarely if we are to emerge with economically efficient and socially just solutions.

The above analysis needs of course to be qualified because, as the "Analytical Report" of the Secretariat has shown, the labour markets for women and men are remarkably segregated. It has been a surprise to me to note that some of those countries which are foremost in the move towards equality of opportunity for women, portray a high degree of segregation between men and women in terms of occupations or sectors of economic activity. Of course, segregated labour markets have more than one cause, and it would surely be wrong to suggest that a movement towards equality of opportunity implies the abolition of all differential labour market participation by men and women. For example, the rapid growth of women's participation in the labour market as part of economic expansion in the 1950s and 1960s had the consequence of giving them a dominant role in the rapidly expanding service sector.

In view of the labour market background I discussed above, I must refer to the possible cost-raising and adverse employment effects of equal employment opportunity moves in the short run. Nevertheless, more equal employment opportunities do contribute to the desegregation of labour markets and in the longer run less segregated and more flexible markets will ease the inflationary pressure resulting from labour supply bottlenecks.

I realise that these questions are exceedingly delicate because they affect social justice as much as economic realities. I have raised them because women should be seen as full partners in economic life, not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of the quality of their contribution. Their responsibilities, contribution and welfare should therefore be seen as part of general welfare and their labour market problems as those of society as a whole. I would go so far as to say that their participation in economic life may bring about changes which will benefit the whole working population. For it is they for example who will probably lead the way to more flexible life-time working patterns, and to more flexible working hours. Clearly, both men and women will benefit from such patterns because leisure can be more equitably shared, as well as the responsibilities for home and family. These are hard economic times in which to envisage such important social changes. But there is an important

reason for doing so: if such developments reflect a changing balance of preferences in the advanced industrial democracies between income and the freedom to use time, they may in the longer run make a contribution to achieving a better balance between the supply of and demand for labour.

I have concluded my remarks on this speculative note because I believe that the issue we are discussing today is not only of immediate importance, but also carries with it the seeds of future change. I am sure that the debates will lay the ground for some of the new approaches we need to improve the employment position of all groups in the OECD countries.

SPEECH

by Mr. Svend Auken,
Minister of Labour of Denmark
and President of the High Level Conference

Women work. They have always been working. Now many of them do it for money and have consequently been recognised even by our economists.

The work of women is a major source of prosperity in our countries. All our societies would fall apart if women quit their jobs. Production in basic industries would decline. "Service" would disappear from the service sector. Schools, hospitals, centres of care for the aged and for children would close down. And real income would fall dramatically.

Therefore, let that be stated from the outset, employment of women is basically not a "problem" for our societies. It is a major opportunity for future development.

But many women do have problems with finding good and stable jobs. On the labour market they are far too frequently met with distrust and bias. They are often poorly trained and educated. In most of our countries women are less paid on average than men - in jobs that are comparable. They are subjected to double employment. Both paid employment and the traditional chores of child-rearing and household work. In a recent study of working conditions for women in Danish industry it was demonstrated that the women on average had 3 full hours of work in the home after job hours, whereas husbands had an average of 15 minutes.

But even though women's increased participation in the labour force of almost all OECD countries is a major source of prosperity, the implications for economic policy and for labour market policies are not easily dealt with. These matters should be carefully investigated and discussed. Not least by ministers with responsibility for labour and employment policies.

Thus, I think we can all concur with what has just been said by the Secretary-General, when he expressed his appreciation of the initiative taken by the American administration to have this High Level Conference on the employment of women. Similarly we are all grateful to Mr. van Lennep for lending his support to this important

Conference in the framework of the OECD and also for spelling out, in the speech he has just made, the general economic and labour market framework in which the question of women's employment needs to be discussed.

May I add to this a note of gratitude for the preparation of this Conference. The OECD papers we have in front of us are of high quality and I am convinced that they will greatly stimulate our debate. You and I may not agree with everything said by the Secretary-General or the Secretariat of the OECD, but I do think that the OECD analysis will lead to an open and fruitful debate on this Conference.

I am honoured to be opening the first OECD Conference on the employment of women. And I thank all my colleagues who have chosen me to chair the proceedings of the Conference. I would also like to welcome my colleagues from Austria, France, Portugal and from the United States who will be assisting me in directing the Conference. And I call upon all participants to engage freely and actively in the discussion in order fully to utilize the unique forum of the OECD for developing common analyses and co-operative ways to solve mutual problems.

If we look at the material before us we see immense differences between Member countries with regard to female employment rates, sexual barriers and wage differentials between men and women.

Even though there seem to be roughly similar trends in the development of most OECD countries, fundamental differences remain in terms of the role of women in society. Therefore, to make too sweeping generalizations will seem hazardous. Yet despite this risk I would like to make a few general observations to lead on our discussion of the main topics of the Conference.

First: The issue of paid employment outside the home is not solely a question for women. In our societies we should all recognize the fundamental right to work for both men and women.

Second: Equality for men and women in the right to work outside the home must imply equality in the duty to work inside the home. If women take their share of providing society with goods and services, men must take their share of household work and rearing of the children. To many men this might sound like a threatening perspective. In my view it is an opportunity for a richer life.

Third: Women are not marginal members of the labour force. They might frequently hold marginal jobs and be paid marginally. But as a group they are in no meaningful sense "marginal" in today's labour force. They have entered it and will continue to enter despite cyclical ups and downs in the economic development.

If one looks to the difficulties of contemporary families with young children, to the problem for most labour markets to provide new jobs to new job-seekers and to fiscal constraints with regard to

financing public management of tasks such as care for old people and for children, one might be tempted to draw the conclusion that the problems could be solved if only married women would return to their homes and take care of their children and their parents.

Especially in a period where many people tend to look to the past to find models for the future solution of today's problems, this kind of nostalgic thinking will hold immense appeal.

But I think this reasoning reflects not only a wrong attitude but a highly unrealistic one. Women are there to stay. The labour market cannot do without the women and in just a few years' time demographic developments in most countries will mean that their presence in the labour force will be even more necessary than it is now.

Furthermore, fewer and fewer women will leave the work force for reasons of child rearing. Birth rates in most countries have dropped. I think that is going to be a major problem for us. And the women know that skills acquired through education and work experience will frequently be lost through a year-long absence from today's competitive labour market, and thereby making a later return to a satisfactory job much more difficult.

To many women life in modern western communities only offers them full possibilities for human contact if they work outside the home.

It is also a simple fact to be taken into account, that a high proportion of families simply could not maintain their standard of living without two incomes. I would like to add that women frequently do not feel free unless they have an independent source of income. The high rate of broken marriages and the dramatic increase in single parent families demonstrate fully that this wish for a contemporary young woman is no passing fancy, but a highly justified interest.

Four: Full employment strategies are a precondition for effective solutions to the grave problems of female unemployment in most countries. As Ray Marshall(1) put it during the opening of the OECD youth conference in 1977: "Unemployment in any form is destructive to the individual who is out of work and to the society in which that individual lives ... There is no way this labour can ever be regained ... We cannot afford to lose the productivity and the contributions of people who are able to work and who want to work."

As was strongly emphasised in the Secretary-General's speech, few Member countries are in a position to avoid unemployment this year and the next years. Yet the argument for a high priority to active employment strategies should be put forcefully by ministers of employment. In these months the need seems to be increasing.

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1) See page 168.

We may well recognise that it is very hard to help, for instance, women on the labour market, if the economy is not strong enough to provide new jobs and existing ones are threatened. Even the most sophisticated selective employment policy will have limited impact in such a situation.

Five: Education and training seem to play a very important part in effective strategies to solve women's employment problems. Education is a precondition for equality between men and women. It is the essential method to change attitudes and surmount prejudices. Education can demolish the tough barriers segregating men's domains in the labour market. And recurrent education possibilities through the length of a person's working life seem of special interest.

Six: The breakdown of sexual barriers on the labour market could on the surface give rise to a long debate of increased competition between men and women. I do not consider this as the most constructive approach. On the contrary fewer sexual barriers would give more flexibility on the labour market. Many of the mismatch and bottleneck problems could be solved more effectively. In my view, increased education of women and deliberate attempts of training for unorthodox professions will mean a strengthening of the labour market contribution to anti-inflationary policies.

Seven: There seems to be no need for conflict between economic and social considerations. The common history of the OECD countries offers ample proof of how economic and social measures have walked hand in hand. And how there has been a fruitful interplay between social and economic progress. Therefore, to overcome our present economic difficulties by stopping social progress and reverse social accomplishments would - to paraphrase M. Talleyrand - not only be wrong, it would be stupid.

Eight: My final observation is that we should attempt to avoid those "special" measures for women that might cement the "special" (lower) status of women in the labour market. Special protection in health regulations for women. Special working hours for women. Special pension age for women. Special pay-systems. Just to name a few illustrations of what should be avoided.

In order to break the barriers and the prejudices we need deliberate affirmative action besides formal regulation. But I think we should avoid special measures that harm women's possibility of attaining true equality with men.

On our agenda we have two crucial items under which these issues are to be discussed. First, "the economic and social implications of the growing role of women in the labour force". Second, "segregation and the functioning of labour markets". Under these two headings a wide range of topics will be raised to reflect the complexity of the problem. I hope that our discussions at this

Conference will broaden our knowledge of the issue and help us formulate common guidelines for our future policies both at home and in our international co-operation.

The outcome of both this Conference and the conference on youth unemployment should hopefully find its way to practical policy in our countries, thereby demonstrating that our concern goes beyond just having a conference. It should be considered to let a meeting of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee at Ministerial Level in 1981 review inter alia the effects of our efforts to attack the employment problems of both youth and women.

AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE

Item 1. Opening Statement by the Secretary-General

Item 2. Adoption of the Agenda

Item 3. Introductory remarks of the President

Item 4. Consultations with BIAC and TUAC
Oral report by the President

Item 5. The Growing Role of Women in the Labour Force:
Economic and Social Implications
Note for discussion

Item 6: Segregation and the Functioning of Labour Markets
Note for discussion

Reference Documents for Items 5 and 6:

- Analytical Report: Women in the Labour Market
- National Reports(1)
  Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.
- Equal Opportunities for Women, OECD, Paris, 1979
- Demographic Trends 1950-1990, OECD, Paris, 1979

Item 7. Draft Communiqué and Draft Declaration on Policies for Equal Opportunities for Women

Item 8. Other Business

1) Requests for copies of the National Reports should be addressed to the Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education, OECD, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 Paris Cedex 16.

Part Two

WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

I

ANALYTICAL REPORT (1)

1. INTRODUCTION: THE PRESENT POSITION

The last thirty years have produced considerable changes in the position of women in OECD countries,(2) not the least of which has been the change in their participation in the labour force. In most (but not all) OECD countries, the proportion of women in paid employment or family enterprises (the participation rate) has increased substantially. At the same time, the male participation rate has fallen largely as a result of earlier retirement and longer periods spent in education. The net effect of these trends is that the proportion of the labour force which is female is rising in most countries. Table 1 illustrates this.

In social terms one of the most noticeable developments has been the increased proportion of women in paid employment who are married. Much of the explanation for this lies in the fact that marriage rates have been increasing in most OECD countries so that the proportion (and in some cases the absolute number) of the female population of working age who are unmarried has been falling. There is a growing tendency for marital status per se to be irrelevant in determining labour force participation. In some countries, for example Finland, this has been true throughout the post-war period. In others, such as the Netherlands, married women in paid employment are a relatively small part of the labour force.

A more significant tendency is the increased participation in paid employment of mothers of dependent children. This has occurred in all the countries for which data are available (see Tables 2 and 3). The increase has been so marked in some countries, for example Belgium, that the participation rates of mothers of young pre-school children are higher than those for older women with no dependent children or with older school age children.

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1) In the preparation of this report the Secretariat was greatly assisted by the work of three consultants: Pamela Meadows, Jennifer Morel and Ronnie Steinberg-Ratner. In particular, a report by Dr. Steinberg-Ratner formed the basis of Section 8.

2) Details of many of the changes are found in Equal Opportunities for Women, OECD, Paris, 1979.

Table 1

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES(1) AND FEMALE SHARE OF LABOUR FORCE

(Per cent)

	1950			1977		
	Male participation rate	Female participation rate	Female share of labour force	Male participation rate	Female participation rate	Female share of labour force
Australia	99.7	29.6	22.4	89.6	51.7	35.8
Austria	97.4	51.1	38.5	82.4	48.1	38.5
Belgium	86.3	32.8	27.9	82.1	45.6	35.6
Canada	94.2	26.2	21.3	85.3	51.9	37.8
Denmark	100.4	49.6	33.6	91.0	67.3	42.2
Finland	97.9	59.9	40.6	78.3	64.7	45.8
France	93.0	49.5	35.9	84.4(2)	50.1	37.6
Germany	98.0	44.3	35.1	83.5	48.4	37.6
Greece	94.1	41.4	32.1	82.7(2)	31.2	27.7(3)
Iceland	100.0	40.9	28.5	93.9(2)	45.1(2)	31.6
Ireland	102.9	36.9	25.5	92.1(2)	33.3	27.5(2)
Italy	99.0	32.0	25.4	82.9	37.1	31.9
Japan	97.5	57.6	38.4	89.3	53.1	40.0
Luxembourg	92.5	37.6	29.2	85.5(2)	31.1(2)	26.2
Netherlands	95.1	28.5	23.4	81.9(2)	32.0(2)	28.0
New Zealand	95.9	30.0	23.5	86.2	40.4	31.5
Norway	99.7	36.6	27.1	87.4	58.5	39.6
Portugal	99.6	26.3	22.4	87.2	50.4	39.1
Spain	101.1	17.6	15.8	87.6(2)	32.5(2)	28.6
Sweden	98.6	35.1	26.3	88.1	70.0	43.7
Switzerland	100.3	39.1	29.7	92.2(2)	51.7(2)	34.1
Turkey	112.7	86.7	44.4	92.8(2)	53.2(2)	38.4
United Kingdom	97.2	40.7	30.7	91.3	57.3	38.2
United States	92.5	37.2	28.9	85.2	55.7	40.3

1) Defined as labour force of all ages divided by population aged 15-64.

2) 1975.

3) 1971.

Sources: OECD Labour Force Statistics, Demographic Trends 1950-1990, OECD, Paris, 1979.

Table 2

PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

(Per cent)

		At least one pre-school(1)	At least one dependent child
Australia	1977	32.0	73.0
Sweden	1978	68.5	26.7
Belgium(2)	1970	27.8	18.3
Netherlands	1975	14.6	40.8
Germany	1975	34.0	30.7
New Zealand	1971	17.5	
United Kingdom	1966	17.8	48.3
United States(2)	1977	39.3	

1) Aged under 5 in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, under 7 in Sweden, under 6 in all other countries.

2) Married women husband present.

Sources: Australia, Sweden, Netherlands, Germany, United Kingdom: "National Reports".
Belgium: Census of Population
New Zealand: Census of Population and Dwellings
United States: Handbook of Labor Statistics 1978

Table 3

PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

(Per cent)

		1 Child	2 Children	3 Children	4+ Children
Sweden	1977	80.0	71.0	59.0(1)	
Germany	1975	45.7	37.3	35.5(1)	
New Zealand	1971	33.3	31.8	30.1	27.1
United Kingdom	1971	43.2	38.7	35.1	30.8
Belgium	1970	34.5	26.1	19.1	12.6

1) 3 or more children.

Sources: Sweden, Germany, United Kingdom, New Zealand: "National Reports".
Belgium, United Kingdom: Census of Population.

In most countries the economic background since 1974/75 of recession and slow growth has not affected these participation trends and the female labour supply has continued to grow. At the same time, unemployment among women has increased more rapidly than among men in most OECD countries. The effect has been particularly severe in Portugal where the recession coincided with the withdrawal from the colonies and the reduction in the armed forces.

The other noticeable feature of women's employment has been their concentration in particular industries, and, across all industries, in particular occupations. The pattern of this concentration is virtually the same for all OECD countries, although the degree varies. The only significant exception is the variation in the proportion of women employed in agriculture. Women tend to work in the education, health, textiles, distribution, catering and commerce sectors. The jobs they hold are principally in the "caring" professions (nurses, teachers, welfare workers), junior white collar occupations (clerks, secretaries), and sales and service occupations (cooks, cleaners).

All the developments together indicate that women's attachment to the labour force is becoming increasingly like that of men, while their role in the labour force and the needs of some women are quite different. The policy issues which these trends raise are examined in the two notes for discussion.(1) The remainder of this paper attempts to describe the developments, and the reasons for them, which have led to the present positions, to form a view about future trends, and to analyse the policies that governments have adopted to improve equality of opportunity for women.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF PARTICIPATION PATTERNS

Participation in the labour force involves an expenditure of time which would otherwise be spent on leisure or unpaid productive activities, for example house repairs or cooking. Individuals supply their time in the market in return for an income which enables them to buy the goods and services they require. Part of this income will need to be used to buy services which the individuals no longer have the time to provide for themselves (for example building craftsmen or a midday meal). Individuals will only take up paid employment, and thereby lose absolute control over the allocation of their time, if they receive an income which enables them to consume goods and services over and above what they would have been able to produce themselves. In the limit, individuals may choose additional leisure

1) See pp.121 and 128.

or unpaid productive work rather than additional income, but certain basic needs must be satisfied before this choice exists.

This basic economic model of labour supply is neither startling nor particularly interesting, but it serves as a reminder that people work for money. Money enables them to buy housing and food, and to improve their quality of life. Depending on the existing standard this may mean installing running water and electricity, taking a holiday, buying a second car or becoming economically independent.

The pre-industrial economy

The great majority of women always worked in the pre-industrial economy. They spun wool, flax and cotton which they used to make clothes; they made beer and wine; they preserved food; they provided medical services and they worked in the fields. The methods of production were such that everybody who was capable of labour, including small children, had to contribute to output. In many parts of the world this pattern still persists.

The impact of industrialisation

Industrialisation has made it more efficient for certain goods and services to be produced in factories rather than in homes. It has also created a demand for labour to work in the factories, and in the tertiary sector which initially developed as a provider of services such as transport to the manufacturing sector. However, industrialisation created the distinction between paid work, family enterprises and household production so that the last is no longer counted as work or economic activity.

The development of industry draws out of agriculture those individuals whose output and earnings in industry exceed their output and earnings in agriculture and household production by the largest amount. Since the demand from employers requires physical presence in the factory for a minimum number of hours each day, the first group to move into the secondary and tertiary sectors are the people who are least required in the production of household services, men and young unmarried women. In all industrialising societies some married women with and without children worked in factories, particularly in the textile industries. This employment was only possible because other women, particularly older women or other young mothers, were available to look after the children.

This move into industry often requires a geographical move from a rural to an urban area, which means that the women in the migrant households who have not moved into the factories are not now regarded as being in the labour force because they no longer work on the land. The actual labour input of these women may have increased because

they are no longer assisted in the production of household services by men and younger single women. Household production becomes the specialist function of married women, and it enables other household members to work away from the home and earn higher net incomes. The evolution of the full-time housewife is therefore a relatively recent phenomenon.

Statistically, the early stages of industrialisation are marked by a fall in women's labour force participation brought about by an increase in the division of labour. Among OECD countries Greece and Turkey show this pattern, and Ireland did so until relatively recently.(1)

As industrialisation proceeds, bringing improved productivity, the economy grows more rapidly so that the demand for labour and real earnings both rise. Young unmarried women are expected to earn their own living. As family members other than the housewife are in paid employment, she is obliged to shoulder the full burden of child care herself. This particular specialisation limits the ability of many women to participate in the labour force because, on the whole, their potential earnings would not be sufficient to pay for the alternative care and still show a net overall improvement.

As young women come to expect to work once they leave school, they and their families see more advantages in education, so that participation in education begins to rise. Women with high educational qualifications begin to earn enough to pay for child care, so that their participation rises above that of other groups. By raising the perceived rewards from education this also encourages further school participation among girls.

A parallel development during this phase is the increased participation of housewives in the informal, undeclared, unrecorded economy, particularly caring for the children and cleaning the houses of families where all members work in the labour force.

OECD countries which passed through this phase before the 1960s showed a very low participation of married women. The same is also true of Ireland and Spain as they currently pass through this stage. In Portugal and Italy the trends towards a higher marriage rate and a longer interval before the birth of the first child have produced much higher participation among young married women, which raises the overall married women's participation rate. In these two countries participation among young women with dependent children has increased rapidly over the last few years, although it is still quite low.

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1) For historical statistics of labour force participation by sex and age, see Demographic Trends 1950-1990, OECD, Paris, 1979.

The development of the tertiary sector

There are a number of economic and social developments which take place together while economic growth proceeds. First of all, an increased proportion of national income is derived from the tertiary sector which is relatively labour-intensive. This produces a rapidly rising demand for labour. At the same time, the labour force participation of young people under 25 is falling as participation in education rises. In recent years these developments have been accompanied by more efficient methods of contraception which mean that women have smaller families and either finish childbearing at a young age, or postpone it until later.

The only way employers can satisfy their rapidly rising demand for labour is for them to attract into the labour force people who are still outside it. The largest group not in the labour force is mothers, and to attract them the balance of net advantage needs to be changed either so that net earnings above the cost of child care are increased or arrangements are made so that alternative care is unnecessary.

This stage in the evolution produces a "second peak" in the age distribution of women's participation as women whose children are at school begin to return to the labour force. The majority of mothers of pre-school children still do not work outside the home. In the countries currently in this phase of development (Australia, Austria, Denmark, Germany, New Zealand, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Japan) a growing proportion of these older women work in continuous part-time jobs. These countries are unusual in this, and in the fact that successive cohorts of women have had three careers: as young workers, as mothers and as mature workers.

The development of part-time work in these countries seems to have been initiated by the employers. It has meant that they have been able to attract a supply of labour at lower hourly wages than would have been necessary if the workers were obliged to work a full day and arrange and pay for care for their school-age children. Mothers of young pre-school children are less likely to be part-time workers because they would have to provide alternative care, however few their hours of work. Part-timers tend to be mothers whose children are at school for most of the day.

In all OECD countries earnings increase with the level of education, and the level of education among women falls with age, so that the earnings of younger women tend to be higher than those of older women. In some countries the relationship between earnings and child care costs has now changed so that many, if not most, women no longer leave the labour force when they have children. These countries still show a "second peak" of women's participation using cross-section data, but the cohorts who have entered the labour force

as young women since the mid-1960s have shown increasing participation as they grow older, and show no drop during their peak childbearing years. The countries in this group are Sweden, Finland, Norway, Canada, the United States, France and Belgium. In these countries the demand for labour would not have been satisfied by the part-time employment of older married women. In Norway, Sweden, Finland and Canada the governments have developed policies of supporting child care either financially or through widely available facilities. These policies have deliberately been aimed at encouraging mothers to work. In the remaining countries in this group some expansion of pre-compulsory education for the 3-6 year olds has taken place, but this probably would not have been sufficient on its own to change labour supply decisions. Day care provisions are generally limited where they are provided by governments. In these countries the rewards young mothers receive from working are sufficiently great to enable them to arrange and pay for their own child care.

In all these countries young women joining the labour force are likely to work until retirement age. They may interrupt their careers for a few months while their children are small, but since they have few children and complete their families in a short time, these very short breaks do not constitute a major interruption. These young women increasingly have mothers who are in paid employment; their social and economic expectations are such that they do not expect to be financially dependent on anyone else once they have finished their education.

Some social developments such as smaller family sizes, the increased education of women, and changed social attitudes are clearly the outcome of the complex interaction of economic and social factors. There are, however, parallel social developments which also influence labour force participation. The first is the improvement in contraception over the last twenty years. Family size limitation has been practised in many countries for decades, if not centuries, but current methods are much more reliable than those of the past, so there will be fewer unwanted pregnancies. Women can now plan their families to fit in with their careers. In some cases this has meant a postponement of childbearing until the early 30s after they are well established in the labour force. In others it means a completion of childbearing in the early to mid-20s and a continuous career thereafter.

The second important social development is the increase in the number of mothers who are the sole supporters of their children. In some Member countries such families are almost ten per cent of the total. This development has two origins. The first is the increasing tendency of some women who have never married to choose to have children and to raise them themselves rather than have them adopted

(although such families are a very small proportion of the total, the numbers are increasing rapidly). The second is the increase in the incidence of divorce and separation, partly brought about by legal changes in many OECD countries, and partly by a change in attitudes towards the acceptability of divorce. Although divorced people have a high remarriage rate, many women who later remarry nevertheless find themselves as sole supporter of their children for a number of years. The net result of these changes is that in most OECD countries a family with a working husband and a non-earning wife is no longer typical, and is certainly not the only household type.

Exceptions to the pattern

Not all OECD countries have followed the full evolutionary model. Some of the countries in the last group (particularly Belgium) did not experience the return of older women to the labour force, and virtually all the increase in participation is concentrated among young women working full-time. Participation rates in Finland for women of all ages, married or unmarried, with or without children, are similar and have hardly changed over the last thirty years, as women there went straight from the fields to the factories.

Two OECD countries (Iceland and Luxembourg) have participation rates which are close to the OECD average, but falling. The Netherlands shows a pattern somewhere between that of Ireland and the "second peak" group. Overall participation is low and concentrated among young women, although there is a small increase among women over 35. Married women are expected and encouraged to work only part-time even when they have no children (although the participation of mothers with children under 6 rose from 0.6 per cent in 1960 to 14.6 per cent in 1977). Official projections show falling participation over the next few years.

3. THE DIVERSITY OF THE LABOUR MARKET

The labour market which women enter is not in practice a simple institution where all individuals compete on equal terms for all jobs. It is divided into segments which are largely self-contained, to which access is limited, and between which there is little mobility. There are three main types of segmentation: geographical, industrial and occupational. Each sub-market contains one or more elements. An extreme example is the market for coal miners, which is concentrated geographically in areas where there is coal, requires particular occupational skills and concerns only one industry. Some segments, for example the market for nurses, have skill barriers and

are largely confined to one industry, but are geographically widely dispersed. In practice, largely because of skill barriers, nurses and coal miners are not in competition. Although this is an extreme case, it illustrates the general principle that many groups in the labour market do not compete strongly with one another.

Some mobility between segments does occur. Migration enables people to change geographical segments; training enables people to enter different occupational segments. Some segments overlap, so that a secretary may move from an industry where she will always be a secretary to one where experience allows internal promotion into management. Nevertheless, the demand for labour is not general, but is a demand for people with particular characteristics, skills and experience (sometimes referred to as human capital or human resources).

Historically most labour market segments have been dominated either by men or by women, and it has been rare for them to be in competition with each other in the same segment. Industries and occupations which require craft and technical skills have been dominated by men; industries and occupations requiring general educational skills, manual dexterity and caring, assisting or supporting have been dominated by women.

The first explanation for this segregation is discrimination by employers (or other workers) against women either as individuals or as a group. Discrimination can be direct or explicit as in the case where individuals clearly fail to get particular jobs or training opportunities because of their sex. Discrimination can also be indirect when systems of recruitment, training, promotion and pay, whose operation is ostensibly neutral, nevertheless favour one sex above the other. Indirect discrimination involves the specification of rules with which one sex can comply more easily than the other. Sometimes, it is a deliberate way of avoiding direct discrimination, for example a rule saying all recruits must be taller than 178 cm (5 ft 10 in.). At other times, it is not deliberate but simply the result of the historical evolution of systems which take men as the norm. For example, a rule that technicians are normally recruited and trained from among people who have worked as skilled craftsmen would result in few women becoming technicians even though they had the aptitudes and abilities to undertake the standard training given to new recruits, and to do the work. There are several reasons for believing that the present pattern of "male" and "female" occupations is unlikely to be changed quickly as a result of the elimination of discrimination: one important reason is that it is the product of past decisions which are, for many people, irrevocable.

The second main reason why women are in different occupations from men lies in the influences to which young women are exposed at

school, within the family and from the media. The social attitudes of their families, peer group pressure, adults who serve as role models and educational choices all point young women in the direction of traditionally female careers, and once they have entered a "female" segment of the labour market, it becomes difficult to change.

Although virtually all OECD countries now have explicit policies to counteract unequal educational opportunities, nevertheless young girls tend to take educational decisions at relatively early ages which result in certain opportunities being closed to them. The school enrolment of girls above the minimum leaving age is above that for boys only in Finland, France, Australia, and Ireland. Young women aged 20-24 have a lower enrolment rate than young men in all OECD countries except Sweden. In addition, girls' educational achievements are concentrated in the humanities and languages and biased away from mathematics and science. Where secondary schools are divided between technical and general systems, girls are disproportionately concentrated in the general schools. These specialisation decisions are often taken as young as 12 or 13 years, and they serve to exclude young women from a wide range of jobs which require technical or mathematical skills as an entry qualification. This barrier to entry provides at least part of the explanation why young women enter apprenticeships and vocational training at a much lower rate than young men and, where they do enter training, why they are concentrated in a narrow range of traditionally feminine occupations: hairdressers, sales staff, nurses, dental assistants, textile and clothing occupations.

Statistical evidence that men and women are segregated into different occupations is an indicator either of discrimination or of a lack of equal opportunity or both. This segregation is a particular cause for concern in that the labour market segments where women are concentrated tend to be the least desirable in terms of skill, status, security and earnings. Many labour economists and industrial sociologists divide the different segments into the "primary" and "secondary" labour markets. The primary labour market is characterised by job security, status, promotion prospects, good working conditions and high wages. The secondary labour market is characterised by low wages, low skills, high turnover and low status. A large proportion of the labour market segments dominated by women are found in the secondary labour market. Furthermore, people who have spent some time in the secondary labour market are perceived by primary labour market employers to have undesirable "secondary" characteristics.

Earnings in the occupations predominantly done by women have always been low. Most employed married women were never expected to become either the primary or equal breadwinner in their families. Most unmarried women were not expected to remain single and self-supporting for an extended time period. Thus, a lower wage standard

Table 4

AVERAGE FEMALE EARNINGS AS A PERCENT OF AVERAGE MALE EARNINGS IN 19 OECD COUNTRIES, 1968 AND 1977

	1968	1977
Australia	.70(1972)	.82
Austria	.67(1960)	.74
Belgium	.67	.70
Canada	.54(1961)	.50(1971)
Denmark	.74	.85
France	.86(1972)	.86
Germany	.69	.73
Greece	.68	.70
Ireland	.55	.61(1973)
Japan	.43(1960)	.56(1975)
Luxembourg	.57	.65
Netherlands	.74	.81
New Zealand	.70(1972)	.79
Norway	.75	.80
Portugal	.64(1974)	.73
Sweden	.78	.87
Switzerland	.64	.68
United Kingdom	.60	.72
United States	.66(1973)	.66

Note: Data for Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland and United Kingdom are based on average hourly wages in non-agricultural industries, from Table 16, 1978 Yearbook of Labour Statistics, ILO, and for Norway and Sweden Table 17, same Yearbook, hourly wages in manufacturing. Data for United States are average full-time, hourly estimates; for Canada, full-time earnings. Data from National Reports are hourly wages for New Zealand, weekly for Australia, monthly for Japan and Portugal, and annual for Austria.

for women was deemed acceptable, regardless of their field of work. The concentration of women in "feminine" jobs made it easier for employers either to pay them relatively low wages or to use a double standard of pay where men were employed in jobs similar to those of women. In many OECD countries, prior to the mid- and late 1960s, it was legally permissible to pay women lower rates than men, especially in the private sector.

During the 1960s and early 1970s many governments passed legislation which made it unlawful to pay women less than men for doing the same job.(1) Table 4 shows that although the gap between men's and women's pay has closed, in no country have women achieved general parity with men's earnings.

Table 4 contains recent trends in the relationship between women's and men's average earnings in 19 OECD countries. Ten countries show substantial gains for women, four show moderate gains (4 to 6 percentage points), and five show little or no gain. These ratios of women's to men's earnings should be treated only as examples of the direction and level of overall change within each country, rather than as a vehicle for making accurate country-to-country comparisons. Not only do the time periods of wage payment in several countries differ, but the age, race, educational, occupational, full or part-time status, and other characteristics of workers differ as well. In addition, there is a wide disparity in the reporting of earnings in the different sectors of each country's economy.

Many of the differences between men's and women's earnings are due to differences in age, length of work experience, hours of work, occupation, education and other characteristics. However, special studies in such countries as France, Canada, the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom and Japan find residual differences which cannot be explained in this way, and which are usually thought to be the result of discrimination. This interpretation is consistent with the findings that the earnings of men who work in female-dominated segments of the labour market tend to be lower than the average for all men.

It seems likely that particular segments of the labour market originally became dominated by women because they were the segments which were expanding their demand for labour at the time when the main source of supply was non-working women. These occupations and industries then came to be seen as being suitable forms of employment for women, and the education and training of girls and young women became directed towards them. Since women's earnings were low, these industries were built on a relatively cheap work force and in many cases employers will have given preference to women in recruitment for this reason. This further reinforced the concentration of women in these sectors.

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1) A detailed discussion of equal pay legislation in OECD countries is contained in Equal Opportunities for Women, OECD, Paris, 1979.

4. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE

In Section 3, it was suggested that the existence of segregation could partly be explained by the characteristics of the female labour force. This section provides a summary of some of those characteristics.

Age

The female labour force in most countries is relatively young. The participation rate is at its highest in most countries between 20 and 25, although in a few countries this peak has recently shifted to the 25-29 age group. Participation among women over 35 is increasing but it is still relatively low and always below the 20-24 level. In many countries women aged 25-40 are under-represented in the labour market. This is the age when most men are consolidating their position in the labour force, and men in white collar occupations are securing their places on the promotion ladder. Women with families may be excluded from this process.

Marital status

The proportion of the female labour force which has never been married is declining in almost all OECD countries, while the proportion which is married, divorced, separated or widowed has been rising. The proportion of the female population aged 15-64 which is married has risen since 1950, in all OECD countries except Sweden and the United States. In the latter, there has been a fall in the proportion of women under 30 who are married, but a rise in the proportion over 35, so that while most countries are experiencing a fall in the average age of marriage, a few are experiencing a rise.

There is some anecdotal and survey evidence that employers are reluctant to hire or promote married women because their attachment to the labour force is expected to be low, particularly since it is thought they will leave to have children. This is an example of a neutral characteristic (marital status) which is assumed to confer certain undesirable attitudes and propensities on those who have it. In many countries, direct discrimination on the grounds of marital status is illegal, and in others, for example the United States, there is increasing acceptance of the idea that married women are no different from other workers in their attachment to the labour force.

The view that married women are only working for "pin-money" and are not interested in training or responsibility is often held by their colleagues and by trade unions as well as by employers. It causes particular problems for women who are interested in promotion and training, but are denied access to them.

Education

Women's average educational attainments are lower than those of men in all OECD countries. However, the level of educational attainment of young women is approaching that of young men in most countries and has roughly equalled it in a few, most notably in Sweden and the United States. As might be expected, the higher the level of educational attainment, the more likely a woman is to be in the labour force, so that the female labour force is, on average, better educated than the female population. This higher participation rate can be accounted for on two grounds. The first is that earnings tend to increase with the level of education, so that higher qualifications produce greater economic advantages in working. The second is that education itself raises expectations and provides access to jobs which are more intrinsically rewarding, thus reinforcing the earnings effect.

However, although the educational level of young women is approaching that of young men, it is concentrated in the arts and humanities. Women are under-represented in scientific and technical qualifications at all levels in all countries. Thus, although the general level of education of the female labour force is increasing, the majority of young women are still not equipped to enter many of the scientific and technical jobs available.

Presence of children

In most OECD countries, it is a fact that mothers take the main responsibility for child care. Time budget studies, particularly recent studies in Austria, show that fathers and other family members are increasing the assistance they give with looking after children. This trend may in time lead back to the situation which existed (and still exists) in the pre-industrial economy, where family members shared responsibility for many tasks which are now regarded as the function of a housewife.

Nevertheless, in spite of these changes, mothers still take ultimate responsibility for their children. This tends to lower their labour force participation because of the cost of alternative care. However, it is also true that mothers tend to be younger, and therefore better educated, than the female population as a whole. In countries where educational attainments have been stable for some years, as in the United States, mothers of pre-school children have lower participation rates than mothers of school age children and women with no dependent children. In Belgium, mothers of pre-school children are more likely to be in employment than mothers of older children or women with no children. This appears to be because the effect of children in lowering participation is counterbalanced by the effect of education in raising it.

The effects of age and education have meant that there has been a considerable increase in labour force participation of mothers in most OECD countries, so that a growing proportion of the female labour force now has children. The presence of children puts many women at a disadvantage in the labour market for several reasons. The first, is that although employers are either indifferent if a man has children or believe that family responsibilities will make him work harder, many believe that children distract a woman from her job and make her less reliable. It is not unusual for a woman to be asked about her child-care arrangements at a job interview, but it is rare for a man to be asked such a question.

It is also true that because women take the ultimate responsibility for their children, and because when they are married their earnings are usually lower than their husbands', it is women who have to take time off work to look after sick children. This in turn makes women less reliable employees in the eyes of their employers, so that a married woman will rarely reach the position where she earns more than her husband when it would make sense for him to take time off. The hours mothers are available for work are limited by their child-care arrangements. If the crèche closes at 18.00 hours they must always leave work in time to collect their children and are unable to help out if there is sudden pressure. It is clear, therefore, that the presence of children makes women uncompetitive in terms of promotion and the acceptance of responsibility, either because of their employers' perceptions of their attachment to their jobs, or because their family responsibilities make it difficult for them to extend their work responsibilities.

Hours of work

In all OECD countries for which statistics are available, the average hours worked by women are lower than those worked by men, and those worked by married women are below those worked by single women. Part of the difference may be accounted for by the predominance of women in white-collar occupations where the standard working week tends to be shorter than in manual occupations. Nevertheless, women with family responsibilities will often be limited in the number of hours they are able to offer either because of limited flexibility in child-care arrangements, or because there is nobody else available to care for their school-age children once the school day is ended.

It is these domestic pressures which mean that women are much more likely than men to work part-time in all OECD countries for which statistics are available (see Table 5). The incidence of part-time work varies between countries from less than 10 per cent to over 40 per cent of the female labour force. However, the real

Table 5

PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT

(Per cent)

		Definition of part-time work	Proportion of male labour force part-time	Proportion of female labour force part-time	Proportion of part-time workers who are female
Australia	1978	less than 35 hours	5.2	34.9	78.8
Austria	1976	14-36 hrs.	1.6	18.4	87.0
Belgium(1)	1977	(2)	0.8	14.4	89.2
Canada	1978	less than 30 hours	6.0	22.6	71.6
Denmark(1)	1977	(2)	3.4	48.9	90.4
Finland	1978	1-29 hrs.	2.9	12.0	79.1
	1978	1-19 hrs.	1.2	4.9	78.8
France(1)	1977	(2)	1.8	13.1	82.0
Germany(1)	1977	(2)	0.7	25.0	78.5
Ireland(1)	1977	(2)	1.0	7.5	72.8
Italy(1)	1977	(2)	0.7	4.1	70.3
Japan	1978	less than 35 hours		17.2	65.2
Luxembourg(1)	1977	(2)	-	12.1	
Netherlands(1)	1977	(2)	1.4	19.1	82.2
New Zealand	1979	less than 30 hours	5.0	26.1	76.8
Norway	1977	less than 30 hours		43.6	
Portugal	1977	15-34 hrs.	2.5	16.5	80.6
Sweden	1978	1-34 hrs.	5.3	42.6	86.4
	1978	1-19 hrs.	1.9	10.2	81.2
Switzerland	1970	6-32 hrs.	5.0	36.0	76.8
U.K.(1)	1977	(2)	2.3	42.5	92.1
U.S.A.(3)	1977	less than 35 hours	9.3	26.9	

1) Persons with main occupation only.

2) Individuals own statement that their contracts were for part-time employment.

3) Employed on voluntary part-time (i.e. not on short time for economic reasons).

Sources: EEC countries, EEC Labour Force Survey.
Other countries: "National Reports"

incidence of part-time work is not always clear because some countries operate a cut-off point below which part-time workers are excluded from labour force statistics. In Austria, for example, people working fewer than 14 hours a week are excluded. (This statistical definition also has the effect of reducing the measured participation rate below the true rate.)

Women who are only able to work part-time are at a greater disadvantage in the labour market than other women. Many jobs, particularly in management, are closed to part-time workers, and promotion prospects are limited. In many countries all part-time work is legally regarded as temporary. Part-time workers have no job security and limited entitlement to unemployment, sickness and other social security benefits. In most countries part-time workers are the first to be made unemployed during a recession. As unemployment rises, the fall in part-time vacancies is much greater than the fall in full-time vacancies. There are increasing fears among governments and trade unions that the expansion of part-time work in several OECD countries has created the danger of a new secondary labour market consisting entirely of part-timers.

This problem is clearly less acute in countries where part-timers have the same employment rights and benefits as full-timers, but women who can only work part-time because of domestic pressures face labour market disadvantages in addition to those they share with other women.

Migration and race

Countries with inward migration tend to have migrant populations where the female participation rate is higher than that for the native born population. As immigrant men tend to be concentrated in the secondary labour market and receive lower earnings, their wives are more likely to work out of economic necessity. However, immigrant women are at a particular disadvantage in that their education and general skills such as language tend to be lower than those of the female population as a whole.

Ethnic minority women may have a common language and culture with the majority population, but face a double set of barriers based on race as well as on sex. Their problems are similar to those of majority women but are more intense.

5. DESCRIPTION OF SEGREGATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET

In theory it is possible to measure the extent to which different labour markets are segregated by sex. In practice it is extremely difficult to identify the boundaries (occupational,

geographical and industrial) of each market. The usual approach is to treat industries and occupational groups as approximations for at least one of the dimensions and measure how even the representation of the two sexes is within them. The other advantage of this approach is that the same international definitions of industries and occupations can be used for all countries, so that comparisons may be made between them.

The main disadvantages of broad groups are first, that many industries operate in several labour market segments. For example, the oil industry operates in an international market for geologists, a regional or national market for skilled craftsmen and a local market for drivers and office staff. Yet the oil industry is only part of the mining and extractive industries sector. The second disadvantage is that the amalgamation of occupations into groups disguises the fact that there are many occupations with different labour markets within a group. The professional and technical group contains among other occupations architects, engineers, nurses, teachers and economists. Each of these has its own clearly defined market or series of markets. An apparent reduction in the female concentration of this group may be due to the fact that relatively fewer women are architects, economists and engineers, occupations where they are already under-represented.

Bearing these reservations in mind, in this section the sex distribution of employment by International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) category of activity, by branch of manufacturing and by occupation are examined. To enable discussion and comparison of degrees of segregation, in this analysis segregation is defined as a difference between the female share of a category and the female share of total employment, or, equivalently, as a difference between the percentages of male and female labour forces in any category. The use of the term segregation is not intended to imply that the complete absence of segregation is necessarily an attainable or even a desirable goal. Although it has connotations other than those of pure statistical description the word is used here only as a statement of divergence from a norm. This norm is itself arbitrary. It does not imply that if 36 per cent of the labour force is female 36 per cent of coal miners ought to be women. What the measurement technique used in this paper does is act rather like a thermometer. The fact that one temperature is higher than another, or one measure of segregation is higher than another, does not imply that it is either better or worse. That can only be decided by reference to a value judgement.

Coefficients of female representation are calculated for each category by dividing the female share of employment in the category by the female share of total employment (or, equivalently, by

dividing the percentage of all female employees employed in the category by the percentage share of this category in total employment.(1) Using these coefficients helps in making comparisons of segregation among countries and in comparing different years, enabling separation of the effects of growth of the female share of total employment, growth of the category and changes in segregation. A coefficient with value of unity implies that the female share of employment in the industry or occupation is the same as the female share of total employment. A coefficient greater than unity means a greater than average share (over-representation) and a coefficient less than unity means a less than average share (under-representation). The "Explanatory Note" to Annex I gives more explanation of the interpretation and use of the coefficients.

Segregation by branch of activity (one-digit ISIC categories)

In general, women are over-represented in services and under-represented in manufacturing, transport, mining and construction. Their representation in agriculture varies greatly from country to country. The coefficients of female representation (showing the extent of segregation by branch), the changes in them in the recent past and the relative importance of each branch in total employment can be seen in the accompanying graphs (Annex I).

For agriculture, the coefficients of female representation are greater than one in five of the nineteen countries for which figures are available, varying from 0.55 in Ireland to 1.59 in Germany. That is, in Ireland women's share of employment in agriculture is only 55 per cent of their share in total employment while in Germany women's share of employment in agriculture is 59 per cent greater than their share of total employment. In eight countries there has been a decline in segregation (a reduction in the difference of the coefficient from one) and in three an increase.

Women are over-represented in the service categories of trade, finance and community and personal services, except in Greece (where they are only over-represented in the last of these) and in Spain. The largest coefficient for trade is 1.46 in Germany; for finance it is 1.71 in Ireland; and for community and personal services it is 2.0 in Spain. This over-representation has been decreasing in almost all countries, but it has increased in the trade sector in Japan, in finance in Japan, Austria and Belgium, and in community and personal services in Germany.

Women are especially under-represented in the mining, construction, and water, gas and energy sectors (for example, coefficients of female representation in construction range from 0.02 in Greece to

1) The details of the calculations are described in Annex I which also contains diagrams of female representation by sector for each country.

0.55 in Japan) but perhaps more important is their under-representation in transport and manufacturing, which employ more people in total. In the transport sector, where the coefficients of female representation range from 0.23 in Greece to 0.66 in New Zealand, they have increased in four of the nine countries for which two years data are available and remained virtually unchanged in the others. In manufacturing women are most under-represented in Sweden with a coefficient of 0.60 (perhaps because of the high female share of total employment there) and in Ireland, Portugal, and Spain, women are actually over-represented, the highest coefficient being 1.40 in Portugal. In seven of the twelve countries for which two years' data are available, female representation in manufacturing has decreased - that is, the degree of segregation has increased.

Segregation by type of manufacturing

Approximately 20 per cent of employed women work in manufacturing but they are very unevenly distributed among different branches, and the distribution is very similar in all countries. Women are over-represented relative to their share of total manufacturing employment in the food industry (except in New Zealand), the textile industry and in the group of unclassifiable "other manufacturing",(1) and in general the degree of over-representation is increasing although there are exceptions such as a decline in over-representation in textiles in Sweden, New Zealand and the Netherlands.

Women are relatively under-represented in the wood products (except in Japan), mineral products, metal and machinery industries in all the countries studied. In Canada the degree of under-representation in wood and wood product industries is increasing, as it is in the basic metal industries in Germany and Japan and the fabricated metal and machinery industries in Norway (which is already the country with the lowest representation in these industries), but otherwise female under-representation in these four groups of industries has decreased or remained unchanged. The share of women in employment in the paper and chemical industries is very similar to the share of women in total manufacturing employment in all countries (except for under-representation of women in paper and paper products in Portugal).

Segregation by occupation

Since statistical classification by industry order or sector is more readily available in most countries than statistical classification by occupation, industrial segregation usually receives more

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1) The high representation of women in "other manufacturing" possibly reflects the female intensiveness of new manufacturing industries, similar to that of new service industries and for the same reason, i.e. recruitment from women drawn into the labour force during periods of fast growth and full employment.

E/ 3.3

attention than occupational segregation. However, the distribution of persons between industries is partly, if not mainly, a reflection of the industrial distribution of occupations. Some occupations (for example nurses, farmers or miners) are concentrated in particular industries while others (for example secretaries, computer staff or electricians) are spread across all industries. This means that if the industrial segregation of the sexes is falling, it may be the result of a relative shift towards "female" occupations in that industry rather than a movement of women into jobs previously done only by men.

For most OECD countries(1) details are available of the proportion of women in broad one-digit International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) 1968 occupational groups (or a close approximation) for at least one of the last ten years. For about half the OECD countries the details are available for one year at the beginning of the decade and a recent year (1968 and 1975 for France). It is, therefore, possible to assess both the current degree of occupational segregation and changes over the recent past.

The coefficient of female representation shows that women are most under-represented in administrative and managerial occupations in all countries. There has been an increase in the representation of women in this group in Canada, the United States, Germany, New Zealand, Belgium, France and Japan but a decline in Sweden, Spain and the Netherlands. The highest coefficient is 0.61 in Canada.

Women are over-represented in clerical occupations in all countries with most coefficients between 1.5 and 2.1, and this concentration has increased in Sweden, France and Japan, although it has fallen in the Netherlands, Spain, Australia and Belgium. They are also over-represented in service occupations in all countries. There have been small increases in this concentration in the United States, Canada and Japan and decreases in Sweden, France, Norway, the Netherlands, Spain, Australia and Germany.

For the other ISCO broad groups the pattern varies more between countries. In Finland, Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden the proportion of women in professional, technical and related occupations is similar to their share in total employment. In all other countries women are over-represented in this occupational group. Within the group, analysis at the two-digit individual occupation level, where it is available, shows that women are highly concentrated in particular occupations. For example, in the United States in 1979, 97 per cent of registered nurses and 84 per cent of elementary teachers within this group were women, while 91 per cent of industrial engineers and 99 per cent of airplane pilots were men. The pattern

1) Except Luxembourg, Iceland, Turkey and Denmark.

is similar in other countries. Five countries (Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Spain) have experienced a reduction in the female concentration of the professional and technical group as a whole. The highest concentration is in Ireland where the coefficient is 1.8 (but this may be partly due to the inclusion of women in religious orders in this group).

Women are under-represented in the group of production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers in all countries, although in Portugal the coefficient of female representation is fairly close to unity. There was a small increase in the concentration of men in these occupations in Austria, the United States, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Australia and a rather larger increase in concentration in Spain. Male concentration in this group is particularly significant, since it typically accounts for 30 to 40 per cent of the labour force and is the largest group in all industrial countries.

In sales occupations women are under-represented in Sweden (where they were over-represented in 1970) and in Greece. In Canada, the United States, Japan, Portugal and the Netherlands their share is similar to their share in total employment, and they are over-represented in all other countries. Where available, the distribution of women by two-digit occupations shows them concentrated in the more junior sales occupations and under-represented among sales managers and supervisors. The coefficient of female representation moved towards unity for this group in Canada, France, Norway and the Netherlands, showing a reduction in female concentration. The coefficient moved away from unity in Austria and Spain, showing increasing concentration.

The representation of women in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing and hunting occupations shows the greatest variation across countries (which may, in some cases, be due to measurement differences). Women are over-represented in Austria (where concentration is increasing), Japan (where concentration is declining), Germany and Greece. The coefficient of female representation is close to unity in Finland, Italy and Spain. Women are under-represented in these occupations in all other countries. In France there has been an increase in the concentration of men but in the United States, Belgium, New Zealand and Australia there has been a decline, showing that women have increased their very small shares.

Most countries for which data for the two years are available have shown an increase in concentration in some occupations and a decline in others. The exceptions are Austria where, between 1971 and 1977, there were small increases in concentration in the sales, farming and production groups and no falls, and New Zealand which experienced a reduction in concentration in the professional, administrative, service and farming groups, and no increases.

Indexes of segregation

The measures discussed above refer to the concentration of women (and men) into particular industries or occupations. From the diagrams in the Annex, it is possible to get an impression of the overall degree of segregation in a country at one time by examining the extent to which the height of the rectangles collectively diverge from the line of average participation. It is desirable to have a measure of this overall degree of concentration of women in a country in order to make comparisons between countries or between different years for one country. There are several measures of statistical concentration available, but few meet the criteria of both simplicity and unambiguity of meaning.(1)

For present purposes a new, simple measure has been devised: the estimates of this "index of segregation" are shown in Table 6. This measure is a weighted sum of the absolute deviations from unity of the coefficients of female representation, the weights being the proportion of the total labour force in each category. The index may be interpreted as a measure of the extent to which the female share of an "average" occupation or industry differs from the actual female share of the total labour force. Where possible two years are given for comparison and the index is calculated for all three categories: by industry, by manufacturing class and by occupation. For comparisons over time, to eliminate the effect of different rates of growth of industries and occupations, the weights used are those of the final year. This is a first experiment in measuring international differences in female segregation and the results must be regarded as provisional and their interpretation approached with caution.(2)

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1) For instance, an "index of dissimilarity" has been used in the United States (Methods and Materials of Demography, United States Bureau of the Census, 1974). It is calculated by summing up the absolute differences between the percentages of the male and female labour forces in each occupational class and dividing by two. This index then gives the percentage of men or women who would have to change their jobs for the distribution of male and female labour forces across occupation classes to be the same.
The index has the advantage of being simple to compute and a conveniently intuitive interpretation, but it also has disadvantages: while an index of 50 per cent means 50 per cent of women would have to change their jobs for women to be occupationally distributed as men are, the desired structure of employment in the economy is unlikely to allow such a change i.e. no account is taken of the total number in each class. Furthermore, the index is not weighted for the relative importance of each category, difference between 5 per cent and 10 per cent being given the same weight as the difference between 60 per cent and 65 per cent.

2) In particular, the value of the index is affected by the number of categories, and is also unreliable for large differences (or changes) in the industrial structure. Such defects are common to all measures of concentration. In view of the fact that differences between countries may be influenced by differences in industrial and occupational structure, it would be desirable in future work to experiment with standard weighting systems.

Table 6

INDEXES(1) OF SEX SEGREGATION

SEX SEGREGATION BY OCCUPATIONS(2)	Year	Index	Year	Index
Australia	1973	63.5	1977	63.0
Belgium	1970	56.2	1977	54.6
Canada	1971	55.8	1978	52.9
Finland	1975	39.5	1976	36.7
France	1968	50.9	1975	48.3
Germany	1970	44.6	1978	45.7
Japan	1970	29.8	1977	29.2
New Zealand	1971	60.6	1976	56.9
Norway	1973	61.3	1977	58.2
Spain	1970	55.6	1976	40.8
Sweden	1970	51.6	1977	50.4
United States	1970	51.4	1977	51.1
SEX SEGREGATION BY INDUSTRIES	**Year**	**Index**	**Year**	**Index**
Australia	1967	51.8	1977	42.3
Austria	1973	37.1	1977	36.6
Belgium	1967	44.8	1977	45.7
Canada	1967	49.7	1977	39.0
Denmark	1970	45.6	1977	40.1
Finland	1967	38.9	1977	34.1
Germany	1967	35.1	1977	35.5
Japan	1967	22.1	1977	23.4
Norway	1967	58.4	1977	47.0
Sweden	1970	50.5	1977	45.1
United Kingdom	1967	39.6	1977	40.9
United States	1973	34.6	1977	33.1
SEX SEGREGATION IN SUB-DIVISION OF MANUFACTURING	**Year**	**Index**	**Year**	**Index**
Canada	1975	41.8	1978	42.8
Finland	1973	40.5	1977	38.4
Germany	1973	32.5	1977	33.0
Japan	1973	27.9	1978	38.1
New Zealand	1973	53.8	1979	47.7
Netherlands	1973	48.5	1977	44.7
Norway	1973	49.5	1977	55.0
Portugal	1976	43.0	1977	44.5
Sweden	1973	43.0	1977	33.8
United Kingdom	1973	35.2	1977	36.5
United States	1973	35.1	1978	32.7

1) Indexes 1st year: sum of absolute differences from one of the coefficients of female representation in each category (in the 1st year) weighted by the percentages of total employment in the second year in the corresponding categories.

Indexes 2nd year: sum of absolute differences from one of the coefficients of female representation in each category (in the second year) weighted by the percentages of total employment in the second year in the corresponding categories.

2) For occupations we have excluded the X category ("workers not classifiable by occupation") from the calculation of the index.

As might be expected, the index of occupational segregation is higher than the index of industrial segregation for all countries for which both measures are available. This is because within different industries women tend to be concentrated in a small range of occupations.

The indexes of segregation based on both industrial and occupational categories are lowest in Japan, reflecting high levels of concentration relatively evenly spread across industries and occupations (but not across manufacturing industries).

The highest industrial segregation occurs in Norway, Sweden and Belgium, although the first two are among the eight countries where the index has declined. Within manufacturing the index is highest in Norway where it showed an increase between 1973 and 1977. Sweden, however, with the United States and Germany is among the lowest.

Among the twelve countries for which it is possible to calculate occupational segregation for two years, Australia has the highest index followed by Norway and New Zealand. In all twelve countries (with the exception of Germany) occupational segregation according to this measure declined (although whether this would also be true for more detailed occupational classifications is not clear).

There appears to be a tendency for countries with high female participation rates and well developed tertiary sectors to show the highest degrees of concentration, while those with lower female employment show less concentration.

6. TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The last few years have seen a considerable rise in the number of women in the labour forces of most OECD countries at the same time as economic growth has slowed down and overall unemployment has risen (except in Norway and the United States). Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that unemployment among women has risen. What is, perhaps, more significant is the absorption of very large numbers of women into employment. In the United States, for example, nearly 7 million additional women have gained employment between 1975 and 1979. In most OECD countries the overwhelming majority of the increase in the female labour force has been absorbed into employment.

Despite the growth in the employment of women, female unemployment has been rising faster than male unemployment (see Table 7).(1) It is clear that in many countries, the effects of the recent recession have been disproportionately concentrated among women. In part,

1) Female unemployment includes female youth unemployment.

Table 7

MALE/FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN OECD COUNTRIES, 1970-1979

	AUSTRALIA		AUSTRIA		BELGIUM		CANADA		DENMARK		FINLAND	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1970	1.0	2.2	1.1	1.9	1.9	2.8	5.5	5.8	0.8	0.7	2.5	1.0
71	1.1	2.6	0.9	1.9	1.9	2.8	5.9	6.6	1.5	0.8	2.8	1.5
72	1.9	3.6	0.6	2.0	2.5	3.4	5.7	7.0	1.0	0.8	3.0	1.8
73	1.3	2.7	0.6	1.8	2.3	4.1	4.9	6.7	0.7	1.1	2.4	2.2
74	1.7	2.9	1.0	1.9	2.3	4.9	4.7	6.4	3.5	3.6	1.5	1.9
75	3.5	6.5	1.4	1.2	3.9	7.8	6.1	8.1	4.7	5.1	2.9	2.1
76	3.9	6.2	1.4	2.4	.9	10.0	6.3	8.4	3.9	4.8	4.7	3.1
77	4.6	7.5	1.2	2.3	4.9	12.7	7.2	9.4	4.3	6.2	6.9	5.0
78	5.4	7.5	1.6	2.8	5.3	13.7	7.5	9.6	4.2	6.5	8.3	6.3
79	5.0	8.0	1.8(a)	2.9(a)	5.3	14.9	6.6	8.7	-	-	6.4	5.6

	FRANCE		GERMANY		ITALY		JAPAN		IRELAND		LUXEMBOURG	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1970	1.4	4.2	0.5	0.6	3.7	9.6	1.2	1.0	-	-	-	-
71	1.6	4.6	0.6	0.9	3.7	9.5	1.3	1.1	6.1	6.1	-	-
72	1.7	4.6	0.8	1.1	4.5	10.9	1.5	1.3	6.2	6.5	-	-
73	1.5	4.5	0.9	1.3	4.1	11.6	1.3	1.2	6.7	6.0	0.0	0.1
74	1.6	4.8	1.9	2.6	3.8	9.6	1.4	1.3	7.0	6.3	0.0	0.1
75	2.7	5.4	3.8	4.6	3.8	10.7	2.0	1.7	9.7	6.2	0.2	0.2
76	3.0	6.7	3.5	5.1	4.2	12.8	2.2	1.7	11.0	6.7	0.3	0.4
77	3.5	7.2	3.2	5.2	4.5	12.5	2.1	1.8	10.5	6.8	0.5	0.7
78	3.4	7.0	3.0	5.1	4.6	12.6	2.4	2.0	9.7	6.6	0.6	1.1
79	4.1(b)	7.9(b)	-	-	4.9	13.5	2.2	2.0	8.5	6.4	0.5	1.2

	NETHERLANDS		NORWAY		PORTUGAL		SPAIN		SWEDEN		UNITED KINGDOM	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1970	-	-	0.6	0.6	-	-	1.7	0.8	1.4	1.7	2.9	0.9
71	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1	1.6	2.4	2.8	3.8	1.4
72	-	-	1.4	2.1	-	-	3.4	1.7	2.5	3.0	4.2	1.4
73	2.6	1.7	1.0	2.4	-	-	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.8	3.0	1.0
74	3.1	2.2	1.0	2.3	1.8	2.7	3.1	3.4	1.7	2.4	2.9	0.9
75	4.4	3.1	1.9	2.9	3.1	6.1	4.7	4.2	1.5	2.1	4.4	1.6
76	4.5	3.6	1.4	2.2	5.9	7.8	4.9	5.7	1.5	2.0	6.2	3.5
77	4.1	4.2	1.0	2.2	5.8	10.9	5.7	7.1	1.5	2.2	6.5	4.0
78	5.8	4.6	1.4	2.4	5.3	12.1	7.4	9.7	2.1	2.4	6.3	4.2
79	5.7	5.2	1.6	2.4	-	-	9.2	11.7	1.9	2.3	5.8	4.0

	UNITED STATES	
	Males	Females
1970	4.1	5.9
71	5.1	6.9
72	4.7	6.6
73	4.0	6.0
74	4.7	6.7
75	7.6	9.1
76	6.8	8.6
77	6.0	8.2
78	5.0	7.1
79	4.9	6.8

a) Average of first 2 quarters of 1979.

b) Results of March 1979 Enquête sur l'Emploi, INSEE.

Source: OECD, Labour Force Statistics for all countries except Belgium, Ireland, Luxembourg and Netherlands, Eurostat Statistical Telegram.

at least this has been a continuation of trends which have emerged since about 1970. The female unemployment rate (proportion of the female labour force unemployed) is higher than the male unemployment rate in seventeen of the twenty-two OECD countries for which this information is available. The female unemployment rate is recorded as lower than the male rate in Finland, Ireland, Japan and the United Kingdom and is the same in the Netherlands. These are all countries where a person is only recorded as unemployed if he or she registers at an employment bureau. People actively looking for work who are not registered and people who would work if work was readily available are not counted in this system. If this "disguised unemployment" was included in the statistics, the female unemployment rate in these countries would be higher, and might exceed the male rate, since women, particularly married women, are much more likely to be among the disguised unemployed than men are. In practice all countries experience some disguised unemployment, particularly when labour demand is low, but measurement differences mean that its incidence varies. (Countries where unemployment is measured through sample surveys will count all those actively looking for work as part of the published total of the unemployed, so this category is not disguised.)

Various explanations have been put forward as to why women's unemployment experience has tended to be worse than men's. One is that since women are less geographically mobile than men, they are more likely to be affected by spatial mismatches. A second possible explanation is that married women with working husbands are likely to hold out for a better job rather than take the first available. This will lengthen their unemployment duration and therefore increase the female unemployment rate. A third explanation is that women are more likely than men to be unqualified and unskilled. Since unemployment rates for men who are unqualified and unskilled are typically much greater than those for all men, it is likely that unemployment rates for women will be higher than those for men.

During a recession it seems probable that women would be laid off more fequently than men under a last-in first-out rule because they have lower average seniority. Evidence for this is not, however, always clear from the statistics. In Portugal, for example, where the effect of the recession combined with a substantial influx of men into the civilian labour force since 1974 has had a particularly severe impact on women, the overwhelming majority of unemployed women are new entrants to the labour force.

Whatever the reasons, the female share of unemployment has been growing faster than the female labour force in most OECD countries over the recent past. In breakdowns of recent movements in employment and unemployment in thirteen OECD countries for which information

is available, female employment has risen between 1975 and 1979 in all except Finland, Germany and Spain, where male employment has also fallen. In France, Sweden and the United Kingdom male employment has fallen while female employment has risen. In all the countries where both male and female employment has risen the female increase has been faster. In Germany and Spain female employment has fallen more slowly than male. Only Finland has experienced a fall in the female share of employment.

All the countries except Germany, Norway and the United States have experienced a rise in total unemployment between 1975 and 1979. In the United States and Norway female labour force increases of 17 to 18 per cent have been accompanied by falling or stable female unemployment. In Germany female unemployment has risen while male unemployment has fallen substantially. In Sweden, Finland and Australia, although female unemployment has risen, it has risen more slowly than male unemployment. In France and Japan the female share of unemployment has risen at much the same rate as the female share of the labour force, so that the rapid rise in female unemployment represents the change in the composition of the labour force. In Canada the relative position of women deteriorated in spite of a 700,000 increase in female employment. In Austria, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom women's unemployment experience was quite clearly worse than men's.

A breakdown of employment by sector shows a substantial increase in the employment of women in the tertiary sector in all countries. Japan, Canada and the United States also experienced fairly large increases in the industrial sector (the latter two countries also had an increase in male industrial employment). In addition, Norway, Australia, Canada and Finland show large rises in female employment in agriculture (where there are universal falls in male employment), but, except for Finland, the base figure is very small, so the overall effect is minimal. In countries with rising unemployment the expanding tertiary sector has been unable to absorb the additional labour resulting from higher participation, demographic changes and the relative decline in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

It is, however, important to stress that although male employment in industry fell in nine countries (including Norway), female employment in industry actually rose in most countries. It fell but by less than the male fall in Australia, Finland and Sweden, and fell by more than the male fall in Austria, Spain and the United Kingdom. It is, therefore, only in these three countries that a higher rate of lay-offs for women than for men is likely to have contributed to the differential rise in unemployment. In the other countries the main reason is the failure of labour demand to absorb all the increase in labour supply. Taking trends in both employment and

unemployment the countries where women appear to have suffered the worst from the recession are Spain, Austria and the United Kingdom.

A breakdown of the changes in unemployment by age and sex shows that in countries where unemployment has risen the effect has been most severe on young women (usually the 20-24 age group, but 15-19 in Sweden). The pattern for Italy is distorted by the change in the definition of the labour force.

Future prospects for women's employment are difficult to assess. They will depend on the demand for labour and on changes in supply, as well as any institutional adjustments involving changes in working hours, or changes in the treatment of women. Any discussion of the future involves uncertainties, but women's employment involves more than usual.

On the demand side, the general forecast is for slow economic growth during the early 1980s as OECD countries give continued priority to the control of inflation. Although this background is treated as fixed, it is possible that governments will change their policies leading to a different outcome.

The effect of slow growth will be to reduce the overall growth of offers of employment. The effect of this on women cannot be predicted as it depends on the relative effects on different industries. During 1974/75 women did not experience a loss of jobs to the same extent as men because of their concentration in services and the public sector which were less badly affected than other sectors. However, over the next five years, technological changes, particularly those involving micro-electronics, may lead to a substitution of capital for labour in some service functions. (This has already occurred in banking and is beginning to do so in retailing in some countries.) There are arguments about whether the productivity growth these developments will generate will lead to the creation of new jobs, as has happened in the past, or will simply result in unemployment.

Output per worker has been below trend in OECD countries over the last few years. Investigations to date indicate that the explanation is a complex one. However, if productivity growth remains low, a larger number of people will be able to be employed for the same level of national income. This will also be true if there is any deliberate move towards work sharing or shorter working hours without an accompanying increase in unit labour costs.

There are, therefore, considerable uncertainties about the future demand for labour. On the supply side, the main changes occur because of changes in the size of the relevant age groups (demographic changes), and changes in participation rates. Of these, the demographic changes are the most certain in that all the individuals concerned are already born and deaths among people below retirement age can be predicted fairly accurately.

The 15-19 age group is projected to fall in size between 1980 and 1985 in fifteen OECD countries and to be virtually constant in another two. The number of women aged 20-24 is predicted to grow at an annual rate of more than 1 per cent in only ten OECD countries as the babies born in the peak years of the 1960s begin to move out of this group. The large cohorts from the immediate post-war baby boom are now moving through the 25-54 group, and this group is projected to continue growing until 1990 at about 1 per cent a year. In most countries the 55-64 year-old group is projected to rise rapidly over this period.

The effects of these demographic changes on the labour force depend on how the participation rates for each age group change. In order to estimate the impact of different participation rates, the Secretariat undertook a simulation exercise for six OECD countries: Canada, the United States, France, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom. The projections refer to the year 1985, and the object was to estimate women's unemployment rates.

Each projection starts from a common forecast of slow economic growth and a small fall in annual hours of work. From these was derived a forecast of the number of people employed. The demand side is therefore fixed for the purposes of this exercise, as is the demographic situation. Alternative estimates of women's unemployment were made from alternative assumptions about participation rates and the male unemployment rate.

Two separate projections were made of female and male activity rates. The first, based on national projections, was that published in Demographic Trends 1950-1990.(1) The second, based on Secretariat estimates, projected a continuation from 1960 to 1985 of the trends in age specific participation rates between 1973 and 1976. These alternative rates were then applied to the demographic forecasts and the common forecast of total employment was subtracted from the result. This left a residual which is total unemployment in 1985. To determine the division of overall unemployment by sex two alternative assumptions were made:

i) that the male share of total unemployment remains constant at the 1979 figure, or

ii) that the trend in the male share of unemployment continues along the path of 1973 to 1979.

The numerical results of this simulation exercise (not reported here) show that the most important influence on female labour supply comes from the demographic changes which are common to all the projections. Projected women's unemployment rates are sensitive to

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1) OECD, Paris, 1979.

different forecasts of the women's participation rates, but even more so to different projections of men's participation rates (because the male labour force is larger), and also to the assumptions about men's unemployment rate.

The alternative assumptions about participation and men's unemployment produce quite large differences in women's unemployment rates, in the case of one country ranging from rates in 1985 which are lower than 1979 to rates that approach 20 per cent. The important conclusion to be drawn from simulation exercises of this sort is that medium-term forecasts of unemployment amongst women are subject to very large margins of error in respect of both the factors influencing demand for labour and those influencing supply. This margin of error could be reduced as and when our knowledge of the causes of change in participation rates improves.

Thus the answer to the question of the likely change in the employment and unemployment prospects for women between now and 1985 must take into account a large number of economic, demographic and labour market variables, as well as the likely policies adopted by governments. A cautious answer would be that, given the likelihood of continued slow economic growth, it is unlikely that women's unemployment rates will decline in most Member countries; furthermore, some possible changes in participation rates and the male unemployment rate (reflecting partly the industrial incidence of slow growth) could produce a continued rise in unemployment rates for women. For some countries, however, the unemployment situation will improve as the size of successive groups of school leavers declines.

7. POLICIES AFFECTING PARTICIPATION

Government policies which influence participation may be divided into three categories: policies directed at the position of women in the labour market, such as equal pay and opportunity legislation, the provision of child-care facilities, and the improvement of tax and social security provisions, especially for part-time work; and policies which are not directed at women in the labour market but nevertheless affect them, such as migration policy, family policy, general tax policy and measures to aid employment of other groups (youth or old people, ethnic minorities) and education policies.

Government policies which have entirely different economic and social objectives may, nevertheless, have indirect effects on women's participation in the labour market. For example, indirect taxes (such as sales tax or value added tax) are levied on goods and services bought in the market but not on goods and services provided in the home by family members. This means that broad based at least or

laundry done at home is cheaper than bread from a bakery and laundry services bought in the market. Such taxes bias choices towards household work and away from the market.

The systems which govern the taxation of income are often related to family and property law. The basic choice is whether the taxation unit should be the family or the individual. If the family is the taxation unit then the system may be fair between families of different sizes and with different incomes derived from one earner, however, such a system leaves unresolved the question of equity between similar families with similar gross incomes but deriving from different numbers of earners. It is here that policies of different OECD countries vary.

A direct taxation system which treats all of a married woman's earnings as part of her husband's income clearly has a disincentive effect on women's labour force participation. It is a tax on working in that it fails to acknowledge that work itself involves expenditure (for example on clothes and transport), and it also operates as a "tax on marriage" in that a couple would be better off cohabiting outside marriage. There are various technical adjustments which can be made to reduce some of these effects, but any progressive tax system which amalgamates any part of the earnings of a married couple produces some disincentives for the additional worker.

Since the system of taxing market-produced goods and services is a disincentive to work, if governments wish to neutralize the effect they need to recognize in their income tax system that working involves extra costs of providing household services. A system which taxes all workers as individuals, regardless of sex and marital status, will tend to offer a positive incentive to the participation of an additional person as opposed to additional effort by an existing earner because the additional earnings will be less heavily taxed.

The tax treatment of children also has implications for the participation of workers. The care of children itself imposes costs (in terms of foregone earnings if a parent stays at home). (It is only convention that the value of a parent's child-care services does not appear in national accounts while the value of substitute care usually does.) A system which provides special tax allowances for the child-care expenses of working parents (as in the United States, Canada or Finland, for example) acts as a positive incentive to participation. A system which does not differentiate between working and non-working parents in the allowance given for child care is neutral in its effect on participation.

General family policies, particularly those concerning the provision of care for children outside their own homes, may also affect participation. While there is a continuing debate about the most appropriate form of care for young children, considerations may often

especially single mothers, do, for economic or personal reasons, leave their children in the care of other people while they participate in the labour market.

The needs of the children of working parents vary according to their ages. Children under 3 years require care for the full time the parents are at work. For older children who are at school or kindergarten, care may be needed at the end of the day, at weekends and during school holidays. Governments can improve the provision of facilities for workers' children either by the supervision and encouragement of private arrangements such as the "day mothers" employment in Germany or by the encouragement or provision of group nursery or play facilities. Such facilities may, in addition, be attached to work places or schools.

Official policy and changes for public day care tend to vary between countries, although huge changes may be a disincentive to work. In Sweden, for example, the view is taken that society as a whole benefits from children using good facilities, so that nursery provision is heavily subsidized. A second approach, used in many OECD countries, is that the higher the earnings of the parents, the more they benefit from the child-care arrangements, so that charges vary with income. At the other extreme, parents are regarded as the main beneficiaries and pay the full cost of alternative care. In some cases public provision on a means-tested basis is reckoned as that most parents must pay the full cost of their private arrangements.

In most OECD countries, kindergarten provision for children aged from 3 years to school age is regarded as an educational function. With few exceptions, largely concentrated in Nordic countries, the opening hours and meal arrangements are such that working parents still need to provide alternative care for part of the day.

The participation decisions of workers will also be influenced by their treatment under the social security system. For example, countries which in effect treat maternity and child-care leave as part of paid employment are likely to experience different participation patterns from countries where such leave is more limited. In general, social security legislation, like the taxation system, has the difficult task of securing equity between individuals and between families. However, even within countries, the benefit and contribution of family, the contributions system and the eligibility criteria may vary from benefit to benefit. In some countries, for example, married women are excluded altogether from unemployment insurance. In others, all workers above certain weekly hours or earnings are below a certain threshold are excluded. Where women do contribute equally with men, they may receive lower benefits, and rarely qualify for dependents' additions.

In some circumstances, an apparently fair system where contributions and benefits are equal may, nevertheless, disqualify women from many benefits because they do not have unbroken contribution records. In such circumstances the practice of allowing credits to people caring for small children or elderly people, as is the case in Belgium, ensures that women with family responsibilities and nevertheless covered in their own right. A system such as this should have a neutral effect on participation. Mothers may instead to work need not do so immediately in order to maintain their social security records, but have a real choice.

The social security system as it applies to employers may have indirect effects on women's participation rates. Flat-rate contributions will tend to make women, particularly as part-time workers, relatively expensive to employ. Contributions proportionate to wages should make employers indifferent between men and women. In other countries, the exclusion of women from some systems may make them relatively attractive to employers, although many would regard this exclusion as undesirable.

In many ways, social security policy may be regarded as one aspect of equal opportunity policy. Equal opportunity policy itself is likely to influence women's labour force participation. The introduction and enforcement of equal pay mean that the rewards women receive from working are likely to be greater, so that more women will tend to enter the labour market. However, at the same time, equal pay makes women relatively expensive employees, so employers may reduce their demand for women workers. The outcome may be higher participation and higher unemployment, higher participation matched by higher employment or reduced or unchanged participation. It will depend on the overall demand for labour and whether or not the uncertainty of unemployment discourages women from entering the labour market (as may be the case in Ireland).

Policies which are designed to enable women to secure access to a wider range of jobs and training might also be expected to encourage women to participate in the labour market. This is partly because such jobs are likely to be better paid than traditional female jobs, but also because by improving prospects for promotion and advancement they are likely to increase the attachment to the labour force of women who are already in it.

There are likely to be relevant effects on female participation from policies aimed at reducing or alleviating unemployment among particular groups such as young people, although young women are, of course, affected directly. In many OECD countries young women find themselves in a particularly difficult position. Their aspirations and family circumstances are more like those of young men than those of older women, yet their educational and social background means that

face different labour market pressures as well as the common problem of unemployment in the face of slack demand. A further complication is that the fall in the birth rate combined with the rising participation of women in their twenties means that there are no longer as many vacancies created in traditional female sectors by women who drop out of the labour force to raise their children. In some countries young women are also competing directly for jobs with older married women who are rejoining the labour market. The outcome of this combination of circumstances is that in many OECD countries the unemployment rates of young women entering the labour force are the highest for any group.

Many governments have taken measures to try and alleviate youth unemployment in general, and the policies concerned have broadly fallen into two groups. The first group involves subsidies to employers hiring new workers. The choice of candidates is left entirely to the employer (although a special scheme in Sweden gives a higher rate of subsidy for women entering traditionally male occupations and vice versa). Given the reduction in "female" vacancies, subsidies will tend, in general, to favour young men, but as fixed rate subsidies form a higher proportion of the wages in lower paid occupations (often predominantly female) their overall effect is probably neutral.

The second main type of scheme aimed at youth unemployment involves the direct creation of jobs in special projects. The emphasis of these projects tends to be on environmental improvements and conservation: both types of work for which women at present rarely have the appropriate skills. Young women tend to be employed in social services projects which within Europe at present provide more than 50 per cent of the jobs created. Today, any measures aimed at reducing the unemployment of one group of workers could be considered to be favouring them at the expense of other groups which are also suffering from labour market disadvantages. Under these circumstances most countries would regard discrimination in favour of young women as unacceptable.

A further possibility is that substituted young people may displace older workers, particularly women. The extent of such displacement will depend on the extent to which older women and young people are competing for the same jobs. In some sectors, such as retailing, which form traditional parts of entry to the labour force, this is likely to be the case, but in others, such as supportive personnel work, it is much less likely. Any displacement which does occur will tend to reduce the participation of older women.

8. POLICIES TO REDUCE DIFFERENCES IN SITUATION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

During the last fifteen years, an increasing number of governments have introduced important policy changes and innovations in the areas of equal pay and equal opportunity.(1) While the development of policies in Member countries is at varying stages, the issue in most of them has moved from a concern with whether to expand the employment opportunities of women to a search for the best means to accomplish this change.

Equal opportunity policies (EOP) (including equal pay policies) may be classified either according to the problems to be dealt with or according to the administrative and legal processes involved. Policies can also aim either to change the mechanisms which discriminate against women, or to reach a specific outcome without specifying how the processes must change to achieve such an outcome.

Swedish policy acknowledges that a change in outcome measured in terms of the relative position of groups can reflect a change in process in the way individuals are treated. Both the equality programme of the Labour Market Board, and the recently enacted anti-discrimination bill define EOP specifically in terms of outcome. In this policy, equal employment opportunity exists when at least 40 per cent of all those doing a particular job are male, and at least 40 per cent are female.

EOP may be analysed in terms of the alternative instruments and tools for stating and implementing policy. These may be classified with four overlapping options: collective agreements between trade unions and employers as in Sweden and Belgium; litigation within the law as in the United States, Canada and France; administrative enforcement within the law as in the United Kingdom and France; and training or educational programmes as in Sweden and Austria. However, institutions and legal systems are specific to countries and not easily transplanted from one country to another; general comparative statements about instruments and tools are sometimes difficult to make.

The analysis of policies adopted in this report starts from the analysis of segmented labour markets discussed earlier. EOP for women includes policies and programmes designed to reduce differences between men and women in the labour market. It includes policies aimed at the removal of explicit inequities (whether in pay or in opportunities) as well as the reduction of barriers which prevent the full integration of women into the paid labour market. It is

1) Some examples of policies adopted are given below. They are illustrative, so many examples have been omitted. Details of these can be found in the "National Reports".

useful to think of these barriers as adverse decisions made by what might be called gate keepers at key decision-making occasions in the work career of an individual. These include decisions about education and training to obtain useful skills, about hiring and job selection, and once in employment about further training and job mobility. Some barriers, particularly those associated with women's home and family responsibilities, and with the more intangible yet important effects of socialisation and education, appear to have only an indirect or tenuous connection with the labour market. Nevertheless they play an important part in creating and maintaining differences in the situation of men and women.

In Section 3 the causes of the barriers facing women in the labour market were identified as direct discrimination, indirect discrimination and the processes of education and socialisation. Equal opportunity policies may be classified into three broad approaches on the same basis. A direct discrimination approach to EOP concentrates on establishing a mechanism for the resolution of disputes. An indirect discrimination approach emphasizes formulating and implementing new personnel procedures and new methods of fixing wages. In an expanding opportunities approach, policies which operate on the supply side of the labour market and which facilitate female labour force participation are stressed. These categories are not exclusive, however. Some countries are involved in more than one approach, and in many cases it is difficult to draw the distinction between a policy to combat discrimination and one to expand equal opportunities. However, in general direct and indirect discrimination approaches aim to tackle the disadvantages to women which result from the structure and functioning of the labour market itself. Hence policy is concerned mainly with the demand side of the market and aims to influence the way in which women already in or seeking employment are treated (e.g. in pay, conditions, recruitment and selection for promotion or training).

Direct discrimination

A direct discrimination approach assumes that labour market inequality results from the specific behaviour of employers and others toward employees. These actions constitute unfair treatment or discrimination. Policy is formulated in terms of what employers and others are to be prohibited from doing. In equal pay policy, an employer is prohibited from paying men and women different wages for performing identical, or similar work, or, in some countries, work of equal value. There are considerable difficulties in practice in defining what is work of equal value. Job evaluation and job analysis have been used in Germany and Washington State in the United States, but there have been difficulties in implementation.

In Canada the definition is still being tested in the courts. In anti-discrimination policy, an employer is prohibited from refusing to hire or from firing an employee because of her or his sex. In addition, most countries that have adopted a law embodying this explicit discrimination model also prohibit discrimination with respect to promotion, training opportunities, as well as other terms, conditions, and privileges of employment. An important feature of this approach is the resolution of disputes between those who discriminate and those who believe themselves to be discriminated against. Policy instruments used for dispute-resolution include litigation in the courts, complaints to administrative agencies, or conciliation and arbitration associated with collective bargaining.

Examples(1) of a direct discrimination approach are found in Belgium, where Title V on equal treatment of men and women in the Law on Economic Reorientation (4 August 1978) provides that any persons who consider themselves wronged have recourse to the judicial process. The Royal Decree making binding the national collective agreement on equal pay also allows an employee or the employee's trade union to institute proceedings before a competent court or tribunal. It also established a committee of experts who will, when requested, advise the competent court or tribunal in its endeavours to resolve disputes.

In the Netherlands, an equal opportunity bill introduced into Parliament in December 1978 provides that all complaints be channelled to the Committee on Equal Pay for Men and Women which is responsible for resolving disputes arising under the 1975 Equal Pay Act. At the request of an employee, an employer, or both parties, this decision may be appealed through the judiciary.

In France, under the 1972 Equal Pay Law, an individual employee brings a complaint to a labour inspector, who organises an investigation and attempts to conciliate a dispute. (This is the procedure typically followed in labour disputes.) If a violation of the law is found, the labour inspector reports to the Public Prosecutor, who initiates proceedings in a criminal court. The individual can also take a complaint directly to a conciliation board (Conseil de Prud'hommes).

Indirect discrimination

In an indirect discrimination approach, indicators of labour market inequality such as the extent of occupational segregation and the male-female wage gap constitute evidence that a system of personnel procedures, or a system of wage determination, has features which adversely affect women regardless of whether any individual or group

1) Further details and examples from other countries may be found in the "National Reports".

of employees has registered a complaint of explicitly unfair treatment. In other words, discrimination may be deeply entrenched in the normal operation of the labour market, and the concern shifts to the impact of systems on individuals. The emphasis of policy is to formulate and implement new personnel procedures or new ways of assessing the value of jobs within enterprises or workplaces. This strategy for implementing EOP is carried out by administrative agencies, by other governmental agencies, by firms, as well as through the activities of trade unions and women's organisations. The most important of its instruments is affirmative action, although others such as individual complaints may be involved.

The policies of the United States, particularly through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), Canada, through the Human Rights Commission (HRC) and Sweden illustrate aspects of indirect discrimination strategies (although some of these policies also embrace direct discrimination strategies). There has been an evolution in the United States from concern with direct discrimination to a concern with the impact of systems. Specifically, the Courts moved first to require equal treatment for all protected classes, and then established a standard whereby discrimination existed when there was a "disparate impact" of employment practices upon particular groups. In other words, discrimination exists when practices that are apparently neutral have a disproportionately negative impact on women. Under United States executive orders 11246 and 11375, all firms with government contracts must now undertake a two-step process of personnel review as the basis for continuing to receive these and other government contracts. Their procedures require employers to assess their labour force to decide whether certain categories of employees are being under-utilised, and the firms have to assess their employment practices to identify barriers that are responsible for any observed under-utilisation. They must then draft and submit an affirmative action plan, which specifies goals and timetables to remove the inequities uncovered. The thrust of these measures is voluntary compliance. Nonetheless, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs of the Department of Labor is empowered to impose sanctions for non-compliance, including cancellation of contracts.

In Sweden, under the Ordinance governing public employees (August 1976) each agency must undertake an annual review of employment and prepare a report for the Minister of Finance. This report must analyse the distribution of employees by sex, identify areas for change and present a specific plan for implementing the changes within the coming year. In the following year's report, efforts to achieve defined objectives must be assessed and new plans laid out. So far, emphasis has been placed on developing training programmes and

organising job content to reallocate work tasks. A similar approach has been incorporated into the 1977 national equality agreements between the Employers' Confederation (SAF), and each of the two national confederations of trade unions (LO and PTK). In order to reduce occupational segregation and to increase the availability of work opportunities to men and women, these agreements call for employers and employees to draw up new personnel policies to facilitate internal and external recruitment of women to new positions and to increase the number of training programmes to prepare women for future opportunities. These agreements allow for "positive discrimination" on behalf of under-represented groups as well as preferential treatment of candidates who are in other respects equally qualified. Equality Committees are being set up within the workplace to stimulate and monitor changes and to arbitrate disputes.

Expanding opportunities

The third, expanding opportunities approach turns attention towards factors that operate on the supply side of the labour market. Three interrelated disadvantages from which many women suffer make it difficult for them to perform in the labour market as the equals of men. These are their lack of training for higher paying jobs, their home and family responsibilities, and their relatively weak commitment to full-time, continuous employment. From this analysis of the problem follows a strategy emphasizing pre-employment or re-entry training programmes, as well as the development of day care programmes, and social service programmes.

Attempts to expand opportunities can help three different groups of women: they can enable women already in the labour force to move into different areas of work; encourage and train older women not currently in the labour force to enter employment in non-traditional sectors; and encourage younger women to train for and enter non-traditional jobs.

In this last case the initial steps lie within the education system. In most but not all OECD countries girls and boys are now educated in the same schools and have the same range of subjects open to them. It is nevertheless necessary to encourage girls to take mathematics, science and technical subjects, and to realise their potential by acquiring educational qualifications. Such a policy, by improving the efficiency of the use of human resources, could do a great deal to alleviate skill shortages and raise national output.

Vocational counselling services could encourage girls to consider a wider range of occupations, and by introducing girls to women who are already doing "masculine" jobs could provide them with alternative role models. At the same time, special provisions

could be made to enable young women with the necessary aptitudes, but without formal technical qualifications, to take up training for technical and craft occupations. Such experiments have recently begun in several OECD countries. The demonstration effect may encourage younger girls to acquire the technical skills needed to enter training as a matter of course.

In Sweden, vocational training programmes are not only organised within firms; they are run by the Labour Market Board. In the last few years guidelines have been sent by the national board to the County Labour Boards to give priority training to applicants from the under-represented sex. The labour market boards have also set up special courses for women, especially re-entering women, to assist them in selecting an occupation.

In Austria, vocational training as a strategy for expanding women's employment opportunities is a central concern of the Tripartite Sub-Committee of Labour Market Policy for Women and of the Women's Division of the Ministry of Social Affairs. Based on the 1969 Promotion of the Labour Market Act, special training courses have been developed. These prepare women previously employed in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs to receive apprenticeship certificates. Legal requirements for apprenticeship qualifications have been modified as well. Women are subsidised during their participation in the scheme. In 1977, girls began training as "technical pioneers", in order to prepare themselves for traditionally male jobs.

Many other OECD countries including France, Ireland, the United States, Norway and Germany have specific programmes to assist women to train for traditionally male occupations and to increase the range of opportunities open to them.[1]

Typical country approaches

Over the last fifteen years, especially since the mid-1970s, there have been major policy changes in EEP. Governments have created national commissions to deal with women's issues in general, and women's bureaux in many government agencies to attend to the particular concerns of women workers (see Annex II, Table II-1, for a list of government agencies).[2] Moves towards equal pay policy preceded the moves towards other aspects of EEP by several decades. Recently, however, there has been a shift in emphasis from equal pay

1) See the "National Reports" for further details.

2) In addition to the rise of women's national movements, there have been a series of international resolutions and directives: in 1975, Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome was made binding through the promulgation of the Directive on Equal Pay of the European Economic Community; also in 1975, the ILO reinforced its 1958 Convention through its Declaration of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers; while in 1976, the EEC issued its Directive on Equal Treatment for Men and Women, effective in mid-1978.

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to equal opportunity policy. In the United States, where national legislation on equal pay and equal opportunity were adopted within a year of each other, in 1963 and 1964 respectively, pressure for equal pay policy for women predated pressure for equal opportunity policy by several decades, and equal pay policy for women was widely enforced several years earlier than equal opportunity policy. In some countries, including the United States, an understanding of the limitation of equal pay policies emerged after equal opportunity laws had been in existence for several years but before they had been enforced to any great extent. By contrast, in the countries of Eastern Europe, the emergence of equal opportunity policy grew out of an understanding of the ways in which equal pay policy was inadequate, and in particular in the way in which equal pay policy alone could result in reduced opportunities of employment for women. In recent years both equal pay and equal opportunity policies have been seen as necessary to reduce the difference between men's and women's wages.

Most countries have adopted some policy instrument introducing equal pay and equal opportunity policy, and especially the former (see Annex II, Tables II-2 and II-3). An analysis of the equal pay laws of six countries shows that, in all cases, action was initiated only in response to a complaint made by an employee or her or his trade union.(1) In Canada, where the law provides for government action without the submission of a complaint, the Human Rights Commission has not yet made use of that power. In the United Kingdom, complaints are generated in two ways: an individual may bring a complaint to the Industrial Tribunal which always refers a case to the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service for mediation. If conciliation fails, the Industrial Tribunal resolves the dispute. This decision can then be appealed to the Employment Appeals Tribunal by either party. Alternatively, a union or an employer may make to the Central Arbitration Committee a complaint about a clause in a collective agreement that is discriminatory. The Committee, which has responsibilities beyond equal pay, reviews employment contracts and declares what amendments need to be made in agreements, or in the pay structures in order to remove discriminatory practices.

Equal pay laws in all countries except Canada provide in principle for equal pay for like or similar work. Although the equal pay laws in several European countries allow for comparisons between men and women engaged in work of "equal value" when a job evaluation scheme already exists, actual cases have generally compared jobs that are extremely similar in the tasks performed. The Canadian Federal Human Rights Act (CHRA) which went into effect on 1st March 1978,

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1) The six countries are: Belgium, Canada, Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

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introduced a definition of equal pay for work of equal value which made possible a comparison of the rates of pay for women and men who work in dissimilar jobs.

The Canadian CHR makes it illegal to pay different wages to men and women workers when it is shown, through job analysis and job evaluation, that the tasks performed by them in dissimilar jobs are of 'equal value'. However, most of the proposed male-female comparisons on which the complaints have been made won't probably qualify under the more narrow 'similar work' standard, e.g. librarians and historical researchers; nurses and health care officers. In order to broaden the comparisons to approximate an 'equal value' standard (e.g. one in which dissimilar jobs are compared), the Human Rights Commission has undertaken a programme designed to inform major companies about the scope of the law. It is also developing its own job evaluation system which will be used to evaluate the potential sources of sex bias in the job evaluation techniques used by a company.

In Finland, although the 1970 Terms of Employment Act guarantees equal rights for men and women in employment, it only applies to a woman once she has entered a firm, and it is too vague to be applied in individual cases. The Sub-Committee on the Labour Market of the Council on Equality is in the process of proposing alternative measures, instituted through legislation and collective bargaining agreements, that would constitute a new approach to equal opportunity policy. Preliminary research undertaken by the Sub-Committee revealed that the problem is the tendency to place men and women into certain jobs on the basis of commonly-held beliefs that workers of different sexes have specific qualities suited to different kinds of jobs. Therefore, the Council is proposing to attack directly a series of employment practices, from the sex-typing of jobs, to the removal of discriminatory practices in advertising and hiring, in on-the-job training, in promotion, in discharge, in working conditions and fringe benefits, as well as eliminating wage discrimination. The focus in this approach lies in the decisive role of employers and trade unions, together with legislative measures.

Most countries have adopted more than one of the approaches outlined above. Sweden combines an expanding opportunities approach, which places heavy emphasis on training programmes and day-care policy, with a less well-developed indirect discrimination approach. Positive action to change the way women are treated in the labour market has been undertaken in many firms through joint union-employer affirmative action plans, largely as a response to government incentives. An anti-discrimination law was recently enacted in Sweden. It contains two main parts, both of which are directed at changing the patterns of differential treatment of men and women within

workplace. A mandatory section banning sex discrimination provides for differential treatment in favour of the under-represented sex in certain circumstances. A second section obliges employers to take active measures to promote equality. It proposes that employers encourage both sex and women to apply for vacant jobs and that they develop training programmes and other measures to prepare women for new job openings. These rules concerning active measures may be replaced or supplemented by collective agreements. Finally, the law creates an Equality Commission to enforce the law, and a special representative, the "Equality Ombudsman", whose task it will be to foster equality in working life through the dissemination of information and by starting discussions between the social partners on the labour market. This Ombudsman also will be able to recommend to the Equality Commission that it issue injunctions ordering equality measures to be taken.

In Norway, the Promotion of Equality between the Sexes Act became effective in March 1979. It is enforced through an Equal Status Council and provides for an Equality Ombudsman like the Swedish law. The Norwegian approach rests heavily on expanding opportunities. For example, women and men are given preferential treatment in training programmes that have been executed by members of the opposite sex, whether it is male applicants in nursing and primary education, or female applicants in welding. Moreover, between 1977 and 1979 labour market authorities entered into a co-operative project with the Federation of Norwegian Engineering Industries and the Iron and Metal Workers Union to train women for skilled craft jobs. Although the project subsequently stopped, it did train some women to enter non-traditional blue-collar jobs. Finally, in order to stimulate employers to hire and train women for traditionally male jobs, the government established a two-year trial programme of equal status grants in 1977. These reimburse employers who hire employees of the under-represented sex for a portion of their hourly wages for the first six months of their employment.

In Germany, an anti-discrimination law which encompasses the principle of equal pay is at present being drafted. It will require that all collective agreements include the right to equal treatment at all stages of employment. The Work Promotion Act provides financial aid to businesses who send training to re-enter the labour market to obtain paid work; the federal government is granting a number of pilot projects within enterprises to train women for traditionally male jobs (special programmes with financial incentives exist in several Länder); and the labour Exchanges have begun to advertise jobs without reference to sex, submitting the names of both male and female applicants to employers. There is an effort to compel an employer to change his employment procedures. Thus,

it appears West Germany is moving towards a combined direct discrimination and expanding opportunities approach.

In France, there are a variety of related labour market policies directed towards the goal of equal opportunity. Special training programmes for women have been created in many localities in collaboration with local employers and local employment offices. In 1978, for instance 8,000 women were given training to re-enter the labour market. Of these, 5,000 participated in programmes to obtain skills in jobs with a high degree of responsibility or in traditionally male jobs. (Preference in these programmes was given to widows and women with children who were heads of households.) These schemes included pre-training orientation sessions, specialised training sessions, as well as sessions to educate women for greater participation in community political and social activities. Furthermore, for women already engaged in part work, training leaves paid for by the government and the employer were established to allow them to gain new skills that could be used in growing industrial sectors. Moreover, the Ministry of Education has proposed guidelines that, if accepted, would make all courses co-educational, as well as make the same courses mandatory for both boys and girls. They also suggest that schools make greater attempts to prepare girls for economic independence. These moves in the direction of an expanding opportunity approach are geared towards enabling women to take advantage of the existing opportunities on the labour market.(1)

In Denmark, the Equal Treatment Act of 1978 guarantees equal access to all vocational training programmes. In addition, to the extent that it deals with indirect discrimination as well, it requires employers to modify their past practices only with respect to their employee training programmes. The Equal Status Council, responsible for enforcing this new law, has developed special courses for interest women in training for traditionally male jobs and to inform them of existing opportunities for training and retraining. Unemployed women who participate in these courses are able to retain their unemployment benefits or their social support allowances.

The United Kingdom largely follows a direct discrimination approach to EOP. The British strategy is distinctive in that, like the approach to equal pay policy, it allows for several institutional mechanisms for dispute resolution, including conciliation and arbitration, as well as the settlement of complaints in industrial tribunals. The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) can assist a complainant, for example by arranging legal advice, where the case raises a question of principle or where it is unreasonable to expect

(1) The "Lagerth du Vinnard Rapport" recently proposed that the government refuse to grant contracts or subsidies to companies which have been found to be in non-compliance with either the equal pay or anti-discrimination legislation.

a complement to follow through a case vacuum. Enquiries are treated in the same manner as are other labour problems; individuals have access to industrial tribunals, which are quasi-judicial bodies including a legally qualified chairman appointed by the government and two experts in industrial relations. Most cases the EOC tries to serve a "strategic" function, such as identifying and testing acts broad discriminatory practices through formal investigations, after which it is empowered to issue a non-discrimination notice, to monitor the Equal Pay and the Sex Discrimination Act (SDA), and to recommend amendments to these laws. The EOC also has a general duty to promote equality of opportunity, and has recently sought to move towards an indirect discrimination approach, by, for example, undertaking joint exercises with employers on the provision of equal opportunities and the improvement of present practices. An expanding opportunities approach has been adopted by other bodies, notably in the field of training. The Manpower Services Commission has developed courses for women returning to work, and several industrial training boards have established special programmes for women.

In Austria, the 1979 Equal Treatment Act provides for equal pay and treatment in collective agreements. The Equality Commission in the Ministry of Social Affairs has both an advisory and an enforcement role. In the Netherlands, an equal employment opportunity bill introduced into Parliament in December 1979 aimed to eliminate discrimination between women and men and provided for some enforcement machinery existing under the Equal Pay Act. In Japan, in 1977, a 10-year plan of action to improve the legal status of women and to accelerate their equal participation in all fields was formulated. In order to promote the realization of the objects in employment declared by this plan, an Expert Group on Equality of the Sexes was established in December 1972 and has been publicly functioning for quality.

In Australia, the federal government does not have constitutional power to legislate in relation to employment matters such as equal pay or non-discriminatory employment practices for the whole of Australia. In 1975, it established discrimination committees at state and federal level which attempt to conciliate individual complaints. State governments have constitutional power to legislate in relation to employment in each state and three of the six states have introduced anti-discrimination legislation which provides for conciliation of individual complaints and, where this fails, resolution through special tribunals. In one state (South Australia) indirect discrimination is also unlawful.

This description of EEP devices does it is unexplained for a country to rely on a single approach. In most countries a direct discrimination approach is reinforced by the development of training

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

A continued rise in the participation of women is not the only important change in labour markets in the period of slower growth ahead here. The participation of men has declined, and the numbers of both employed and unemployed women have risen. Unemployment amongst women (including school leavers) is generally higher and has been not only in rising faster than that of men in most OECD countries. Participation forecasts of economic growth in the available indicate for several countries a disturbing picture of high levels of unemployment amongst women, although in some countries an important decline in the proportion of school leavers in the labour force will also slow the growth of the labour force. It must be emphasized, however, that such forecasts are extremely sensitive to assumptions about participation rates.

By and large, women and men are employed in different occupations and are therefore not in competition with each other in the labour market. There are several reasons for this. Women are disproportionately concentrated in occupations and industries which were expanding and offering employment opportunities at the time when large numbers of women were entering the labour market. Educational attitudes and habits and social attitudes reinforced the view that there were suitable occupations for young women, and there experiences were therefore limited. At the same time women were less well paid and largely excluded from many more occupations, either through discrimination or because their earlier educational choices have barred them from training opportunities.

The division or segmentation of the labour force into a number of non-competing groups based on skill and experience is a problem elsewhere. Sociologist workers, of course, by education, training and experience, and also to cross the barriers. However, the concentration or segregation of women into a limited number of occupations and grades, particularly the "dead-end" or "menial" jobs, is certain countries out is in consistent with the aspire for equality of employment opportunities.

Historical assessment of the extent to which the labour market is segregated by sex shows a remarkably stable pattern across all Member countries. Women tend to be concentrated in clerical and service occupations and due in production and transport occupations. In industries women are concentrated in services and due in manufacturing, although some industries of manufacturing (food production and textiles in particular) are important employers of women. Even where they are employed in competition with a majority of male workers, women are concentrated in clerical, service and other "caring" occupations. On a basis, occupational segregation is greater than industrial segregation. In general, the most economically developed countries with the highest participation rates for women and the most developed service sectors show the highest degree of segregation.

This segregation of employment by sex results in jobs occupied by the majority of women being less well paid and having fewer promotional prospects than the jobs occupied by the majority of men. Some, but not all, of the differences in the earnings of men and women at work can be attributed to such factors as educational levels, employment experience and hours worked. Studies of earnings differences show that after these factors are taken into account there is a significant residual difference in earnings attributable to discrimination.

Studies of the segregation of women in labour markets have identified three basic causes towards which public policy may be directed. First, there is direct discrimination such as, for instance, when a woman doing the same work as a man receives lower pay or is denied access to a particular occupation for which she is qualified. Second, there is indirect discrimination whereby women are often excluded from recruitment, training or promotion because of their so-called employment disadvantages. This type of discrimination is usually built into managerial procedures as for instance when promotions depend on continuous service. The third cause of segregation is the attitudes of parents, teachers, vocational guidance authorities and employers which define typical social roles for girls and women, and this in turn identifies certain occupations and aspirations as appropriate for women.

With the exception of the provision of publicly supplemented child-care facilities, few governments have adopted policies with the explicit purpose of encouraging women to enter paid employment. In fact, on balance the impact of a number of government policies may well have been negative as a result of tax and social security systems which discriminate against women or are based on family income concepts.

Concerning direct discrimination in the labour market, however, many countries have passed laws forbidding discrimination and differences in pay for similar work. Several countries have gone further in order to lower the barriers to recruitment, training and promotion, by requiring employers to employ a certain proportion of women in each occupation and grade. In many countries a third line of attack adopted, slower in its effects but more fundamental, is to try to change attitudes towards traditional and non-traditional occupations for girls. In all of these lines of attack on segregation and discrimination, experience shows that not only governments, but trade unions and employers also, are important instruments of reform.

The first conclusion to be drawn from this report from the point of view of policy is that women are now such a large proportion of the labour force (about 40 per cent in most Member countries), and that such a large proportion of women are in paid employment (over

50 per cent in many countries) that the economy of most OECD countries is now geared to and depends upon a high level of female participation, not only as labour input but also for the generation of national income and spending power. Furthermore, a growing number of families rely heavily on women's incomes, either solely or together with that of other members of the family. Women can no longer be regarded as a reserve supply of labour to be drawn on, or rejected, as necessary.

The second conclusion is that the segregation of women into a narrow range of occupations and grades is still substantial. This segregation underlies the difference in men's and women's earnings, and there is no clear evidence that it has declined significantly over the last decade, despite important efforts on the part of governments. While the aim of equal opportunity for women, accepted in all Member countries, requires more effective government action if it is to be attained, the speed with which it will be attained will depend greatly on a change in public attitudes and in the example of leaders of opinion.

Annex I

Graphs

SEX SEGREGATION BY OCCUPATION
BY INDUSTRY AND BY SUB DIVISIONS
OF MANUFACTURING

EXPLANATORY NOTE

These graphs show the distribution of female employment by 1-digit ISCO classification for occupations, by 1-digit ISIC classification for industries and by 2-digit ISIC classification for manufacturing.

Along the horizontal axis are the categories of employment. The appropriate ISCO or ISIC classification number is given below the axis and the percentage of total employment accounted for by each category in the more recent year is given above the axis. The width of each category is proportional to its share in total employment, in the more recent year. Thus, if one-fifth of all employees are employed in collective and social services, this category will be represented by one-fifth of the horizontal axis; and if there are twice as many people employed in manufacturing as in the financial sector, the interval representing manufacturing will be twice as wide as that representing the financial sector.

The vertical axis shows coefficients of female representation. As explained in the text, these are the female share of employment in each category divided by the female share of total employment.(1) The female share of total employment in each year is given in parentheses alongside the 1.0. Divergences of the coefficients from 1.0 represent the degree of segregation, that is, of divergences from the situation defined as non-segregation in which the female share of each category of employment would be the same as the female share of total employment.(2) This standardization (to 1.0 representing the absence of segregation) allows comparisons between years and among countries. For example, if the female share of employment in agriculture is 15 per cent and the female share of total employment is 30 per cent, the coefficient of female representation in this category of employment is 0.55, meaning that there are only one-third as many women employed in agriculture as there would be if women's employment were spread evenly among all categories so that the female share of each was 30 per cent.

The area of the solid bar for each category corresponds to the number of women employed in each category in the later year shown.

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1) Or, equivalently, these are the percentage of all employed women who are employed in this category divided by the percentage share of this category in total employment.

2) Or, equivalently, there is no segregation if the same percentage of all male and of all female employees are employed in each category.

allowing comparisons of employment in different categories within one country but not comparisons among countries.(1) For example, if the area of the bar for trade in Swiss as big as the area for finance, then twice as many women were employed in trade as were employed in finance in that country in that year.

The area between the bar of each bar and the 1.0 line corresponds to the index of segregation calculated for the latter year.(2) It represents the extent to which the sex distribution of employment differs from the situation defined as the absence of segregation when the coefficient for each category would be 1.0 and this area would be 0.0. The area may also be interpreted as representing the number of women who would have to change their category of employment to attain the non-segregated situation.

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(1) This is simply derived as: the width of the bar is proportional to the total number of employees in the category and the height is proportional to the female share of this total, so that multiplying them together the area is proportional to the number of female employees in this category. Since the number of male and female employees in the total number of employees in a country and the female share of this total (segregation), areas cannot be directly compared among countries. The areas under the 1.0 line are not corrected for the number of women employed in the earlier year because the horizontal coordinate are given according to employment in the latter year.

(2) The area between the dashed lines and the 1.0 line corresponds to an index of segregation for the earlier year weighted by the distribution of total employment in the latter year.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

4.1 [illegible] clerks.
4.2 Telephone and telegraph operators.
4.3 Client [illegible] workers not elsewhere classified.

Major Group 5 - Sales workers

5.0 Managers (wholesale and retail trade).
5.1 Working proprietors (wholesale and retail trade).
5.2 Sales supervisors and buyers.
5.3 Technical salesmen, commercial travellers and manufacturers' agents.
5.4 Insurance, real estate, securities and business services salesmen and auctioneers.
5.5 Salesmen, shop assistants and related workers.
5.6 Sales workers not elsewhere classified.

Major Group 6 - Service workers

6.0 Managers (catering and lodging services).
6.1 Working proprietors (catering and lodging services).
6.2 Housekeeping and related service supervisors.
6.3 Cooks, waiters, barmaids and related workers.
6.4 Maids and related housekeeping service workers not elsewhere classified.
6.5 Building caretakers, chargehands, cleaners and related workers.
6.6 Launderers, dry-cleaners and pressers.
6.7 Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians and related workers.
6.8 Protective service workers.
6.9 Service workers not elsewhere classified.

Major Group 7 - Agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters

7.0 Farm managers and supervisors.
7.1 Farmers.
7.2 Agricultural and animal husbandry workers.
7.3 Forestry workers.
7.4 Fishermen, hunters and related workers.

Major Group (7)8 - Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers

(7).0 Production supervisors and general foremen.
(7).1 Miners, quarrymen, well drillers and related workers.
(7).2 Metal processers.
(7).3 Wood preparation workers and paper makers.
(7).4 Chemical processers and related workers.
(7).5 Spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers.

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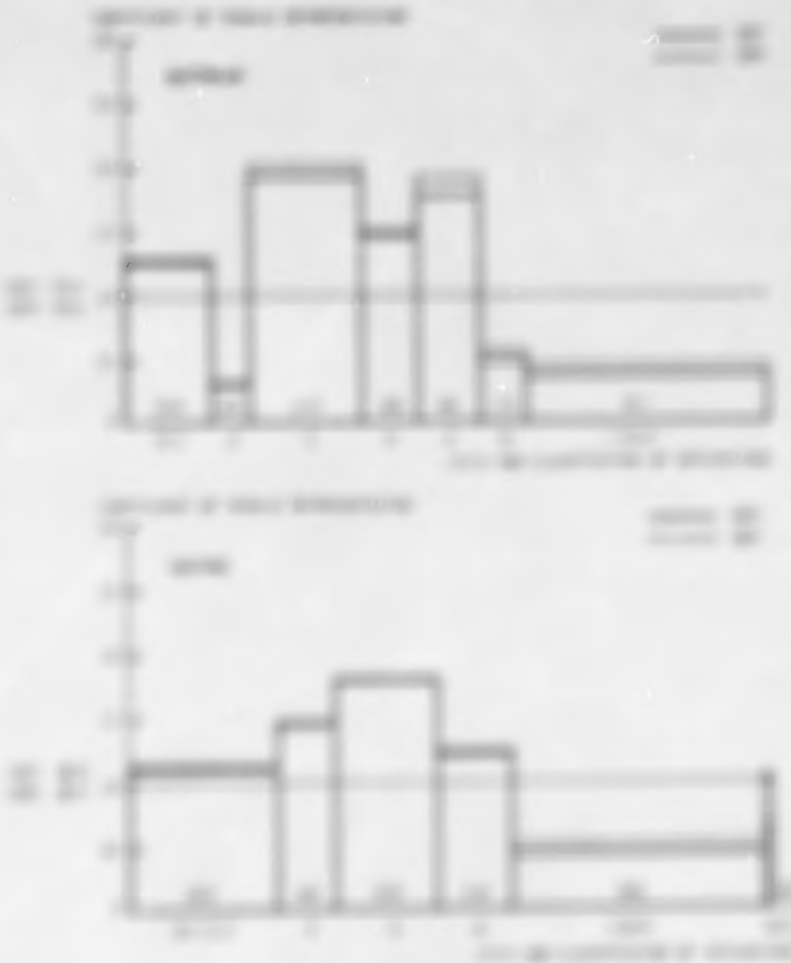

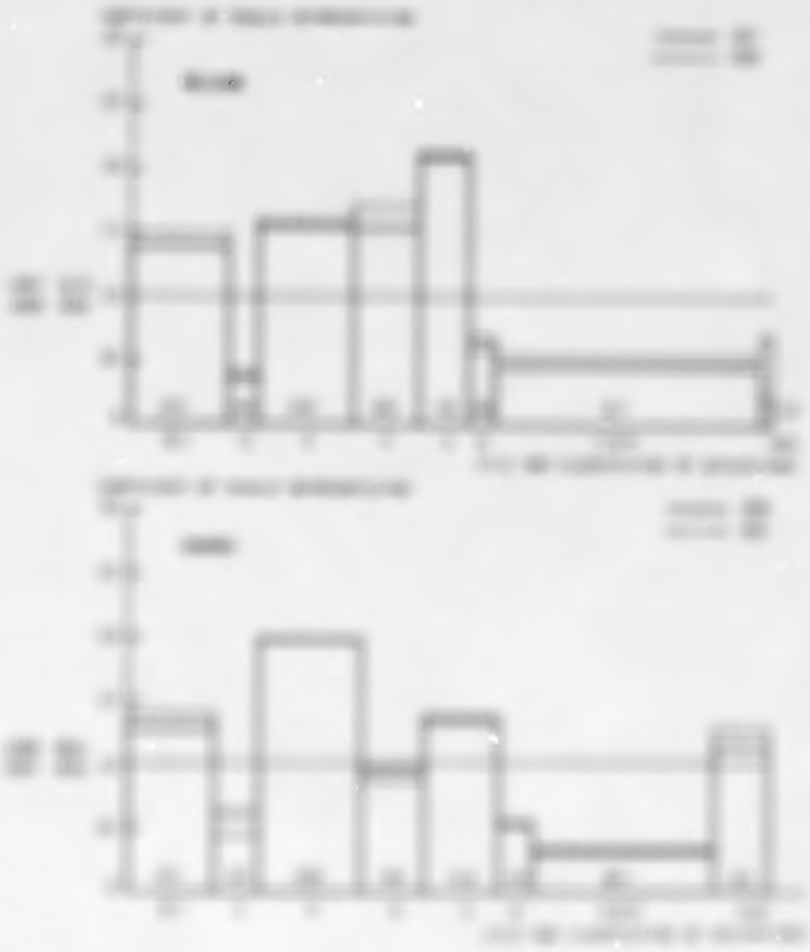

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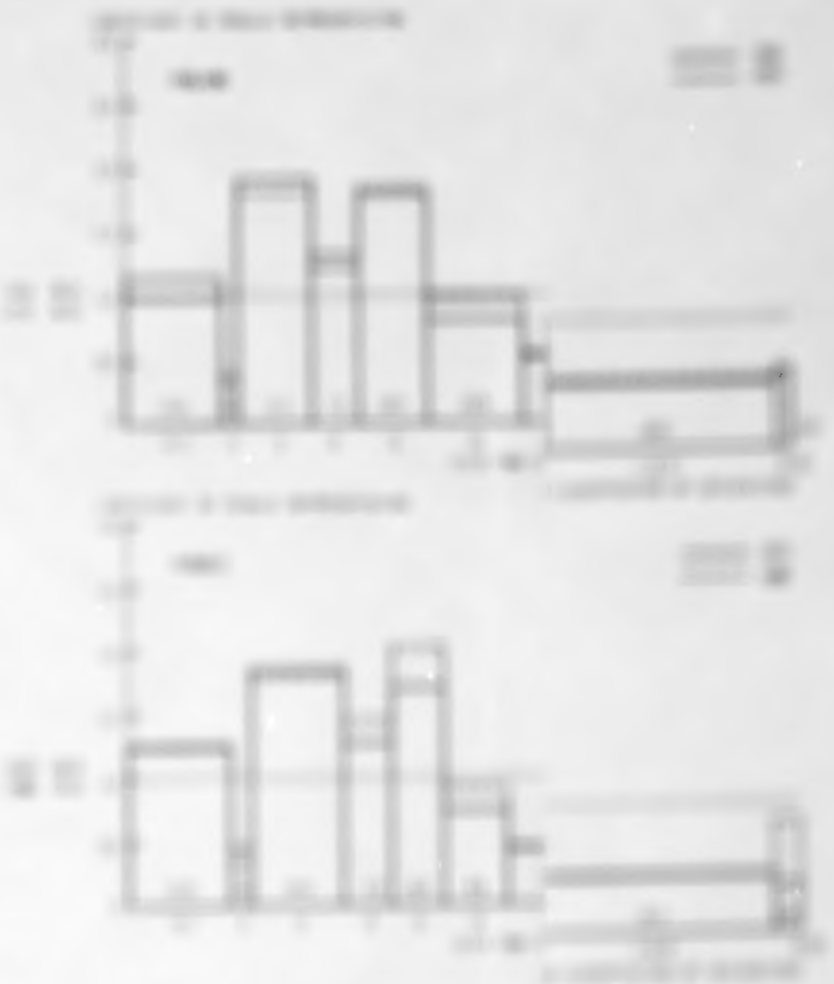

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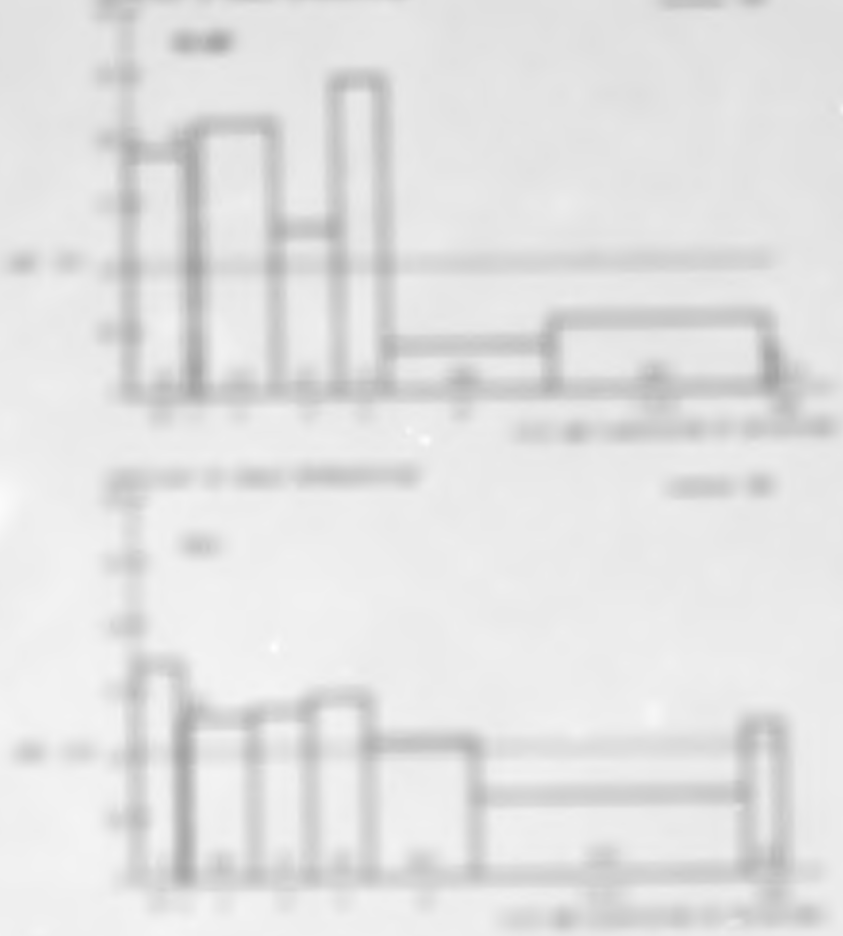
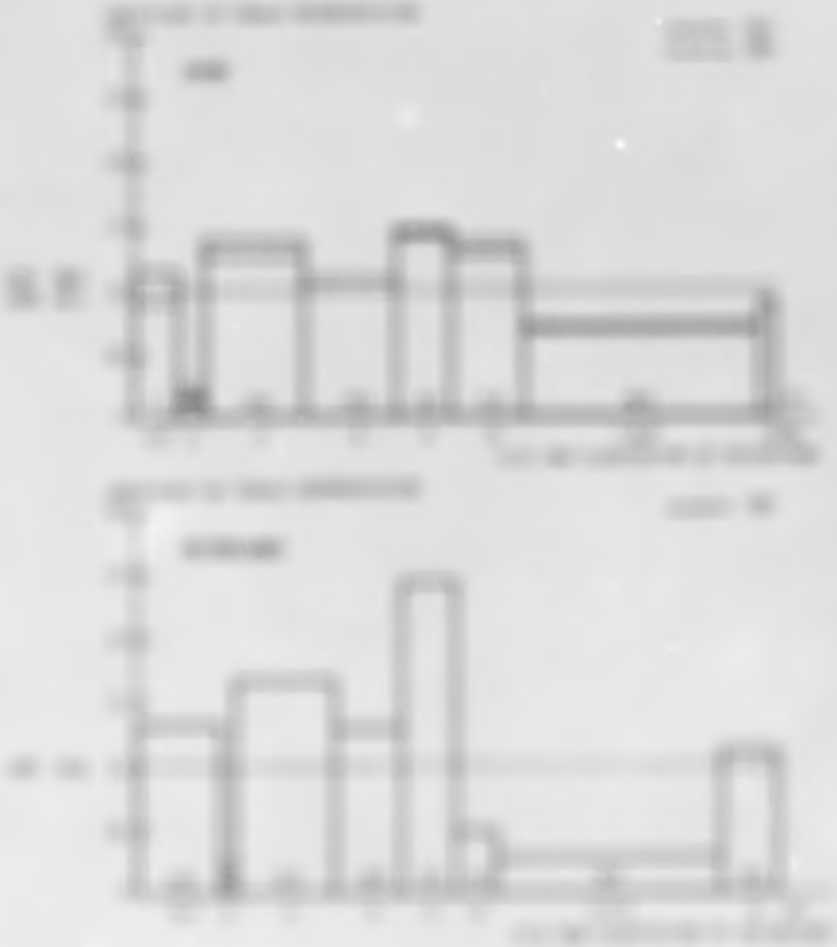
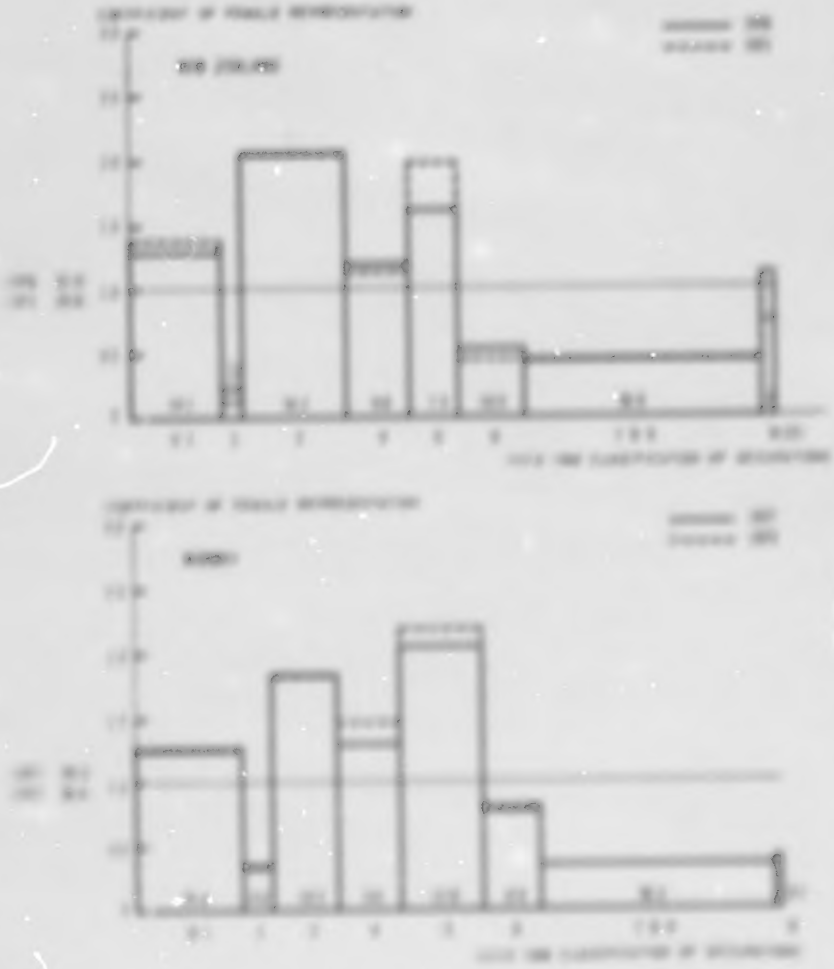
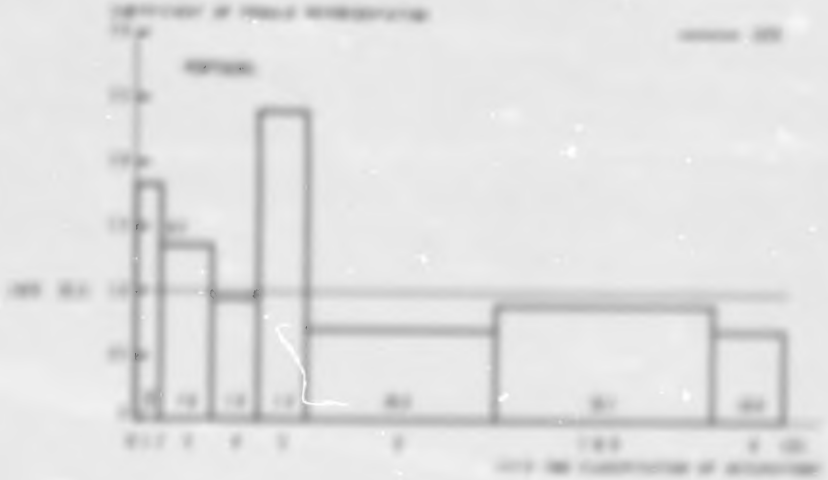
- [illegible]

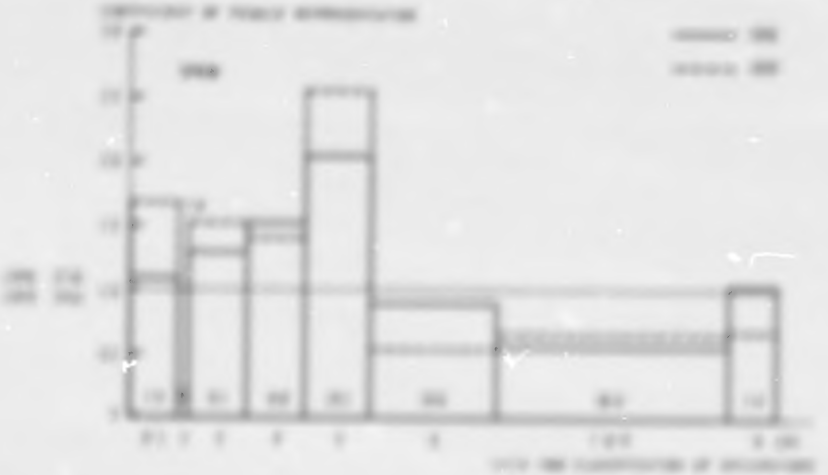






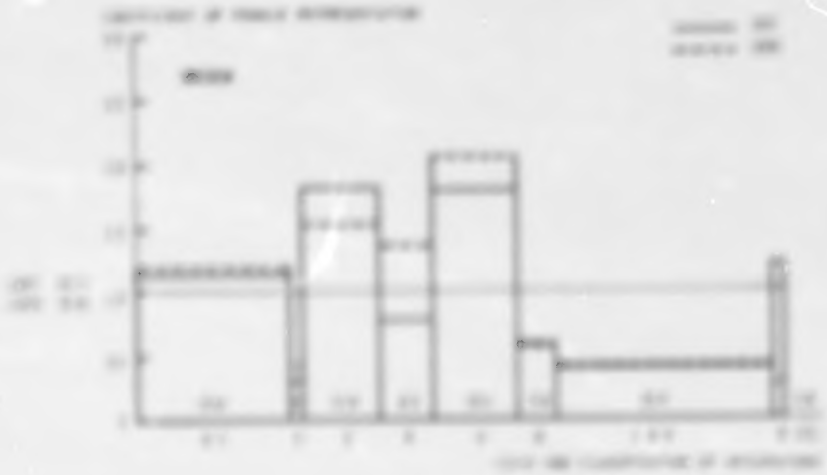
(1) New Zealand: Category B [illegible] includes workers not classifiable by occupation and persons seeking work for the first time. Category B [illegible] includes workers not classifiable by occupation and women farmers.

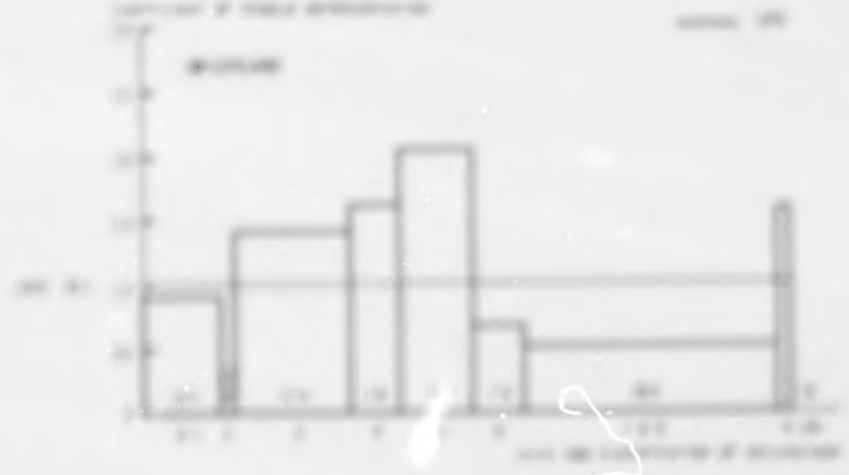




(1) Portugal: Category X 1970 includes workers not classifiable by occupation, ardent forces, persons seeking a first job and undergroups.

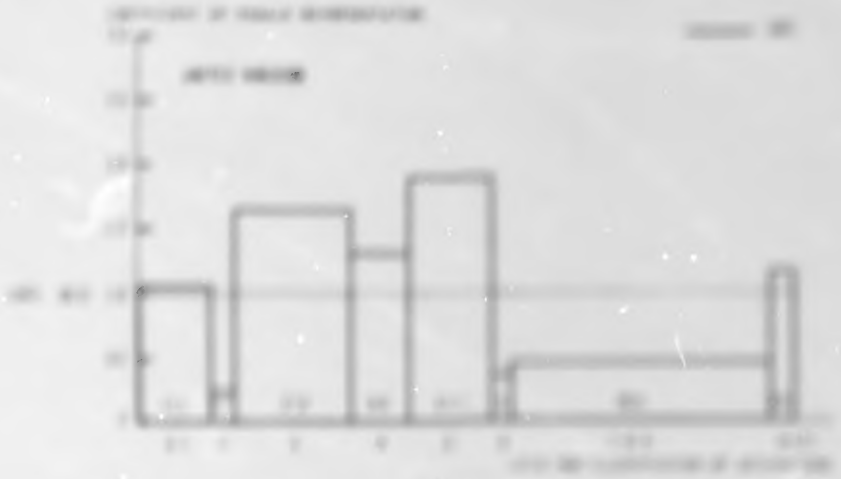
(2) Spain: Category X 1970 includes workers not classifiable by occupation, ardent forces, unemployed. Category X 1972 includes workers not classifiable by occupation and ardent forces.

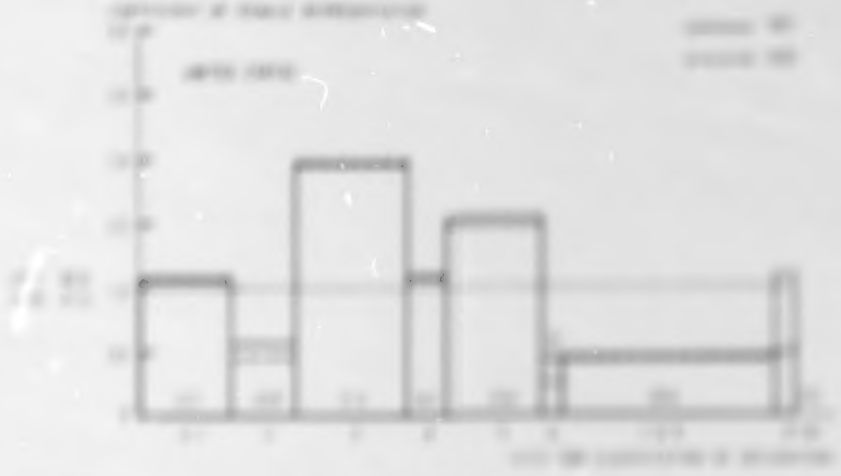




(1) Statistics: Categories A (NFT including unemployed). Categories B (NFT) excluding workers not classifiable by occupation and armed forces.

(2) Participants: Categories A (NFT including workers not classifiable by occupation and armed forces).





(1) United Kingdom: Category A (excludes workers not classifiable by occupation and armed forces).

(2) United States: Category A (only includes persons working a full-time job and armed forces). Category B (only includes workers not classifiable by occupation and armed forces).

Sources: For footnotes of persons employed and country sources to the information for the United States, footnotes to the Department of Women.

[illegible]

Major Divisions 1 to 5 Agriculture, Mining, Forestry and Fishing

1). Agriculture and hunting.
2). Forestry and logging.
3). Fishing.

Major Divisions 6 to 9 Mining and quarrying

4). Coal mining.
5). Crude petroleum and natural gas production.
6). Metal ore mining.
7). Other mining.

Major Divisions 10 to 39 Manufacturing

8). Manufacture of food, beverages and tobacco.

(1) to (3). Food manufacturing.
(4). Beverage industries.
(5). Tobacco manufactures.

9). Textiles, wearing apparel and leather industries.

(6). Manufacture of textiles.
(7). Manufacture of wearing apparel, except footwear.
(8). Manufacture of leather and products of leather, leather substitutes and fur, except footwear and wearing apparel.
(9). Manufacture of footwear, except rubber or plastic footwear.

10). Manufacture of wood and wood products, including furniture.

(10). Manufacture of wood and wood and cork products, except furniture.
(11). Manufacture of furniture and fixtures, except primarily of metal.

11). Manufacture of paper and paper products, printing and publishing.

(12). Manufacture of paper and paper products.
(13). Printing, publishing and allied industries.

1/ For more details see United Nations Statistical Papers, Series M, No. 4, Rev. 2, Add. 1 (New York, 1968).

[illegible]

- 35. [illegible]
  - 351. [illegible]
  - 352. [illegible]
  - 353. [illegible]
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- 42. [illegible]

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- 62. [illegible]
- 63. [illegible]

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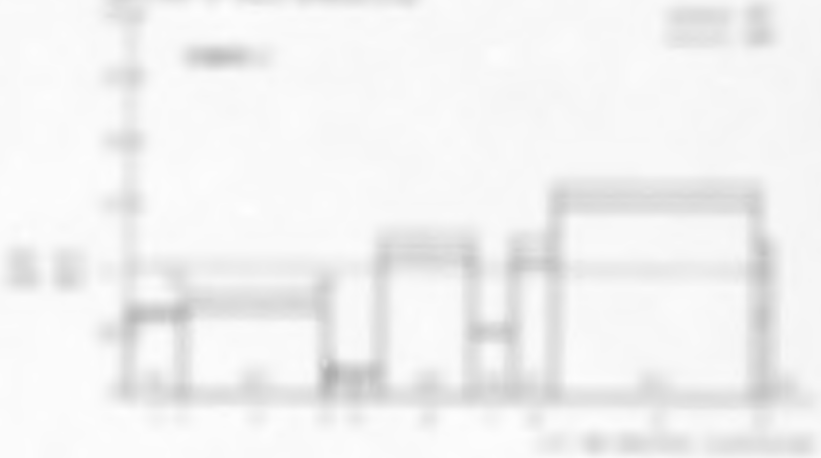


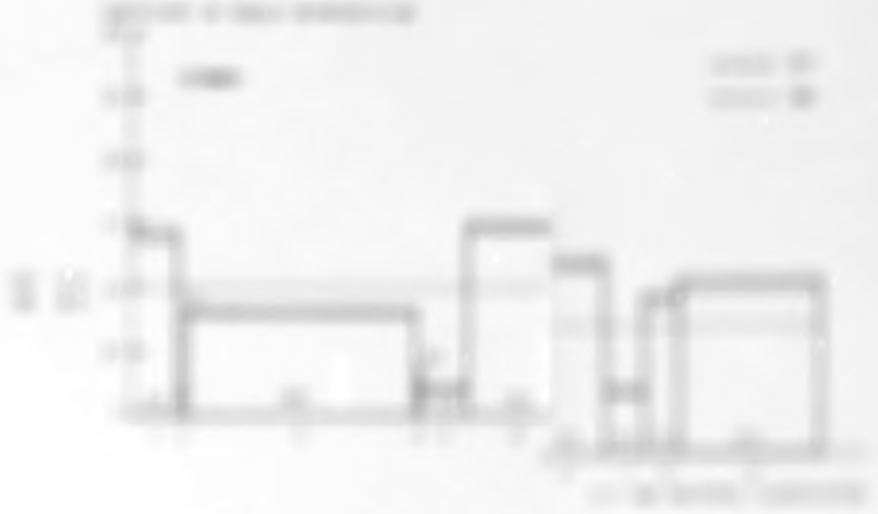
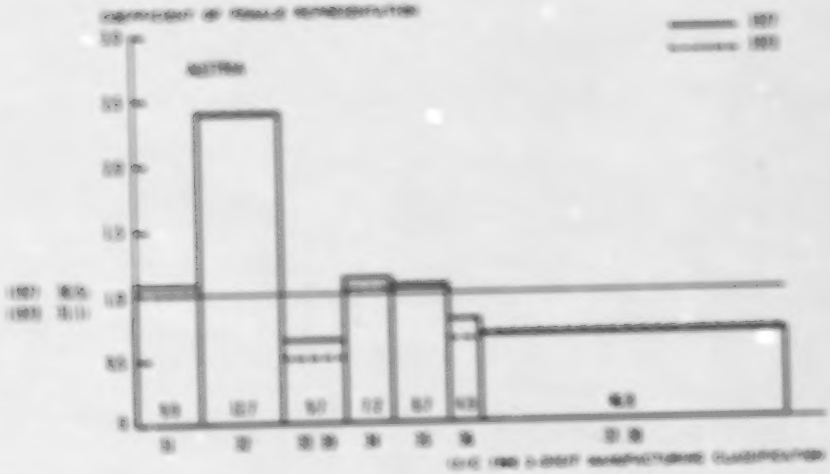


Diagram 1-3

SEX SEGREGATION BY SUB-DIVISIONS OF MANUFACTURING

Wage earners and salaried employees



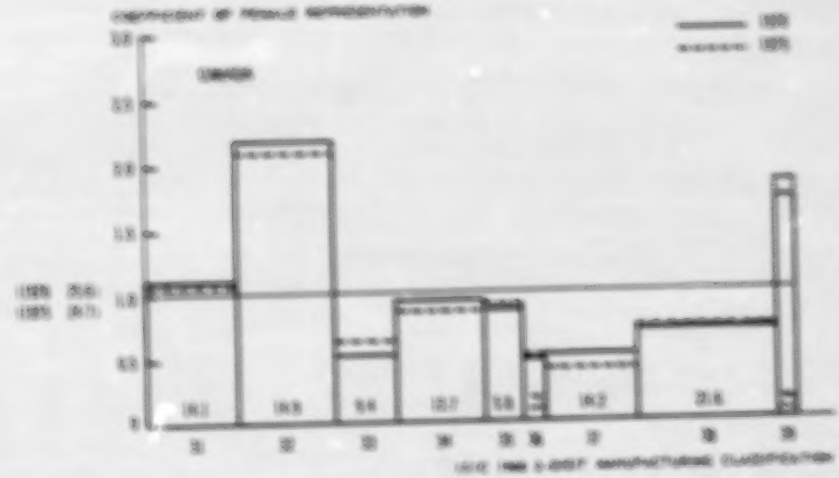
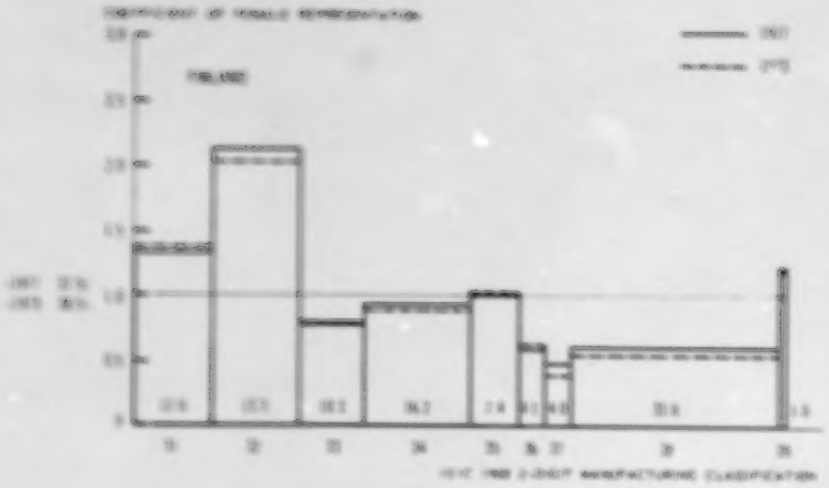
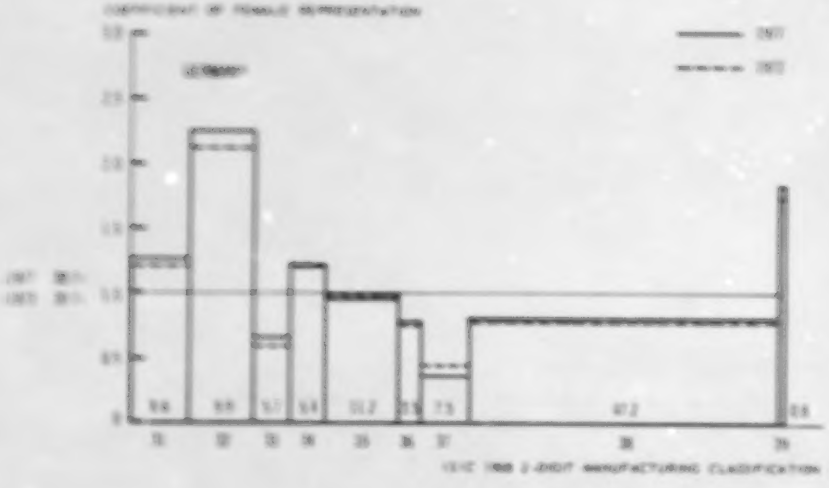


Diagram I-3 (cont'd)





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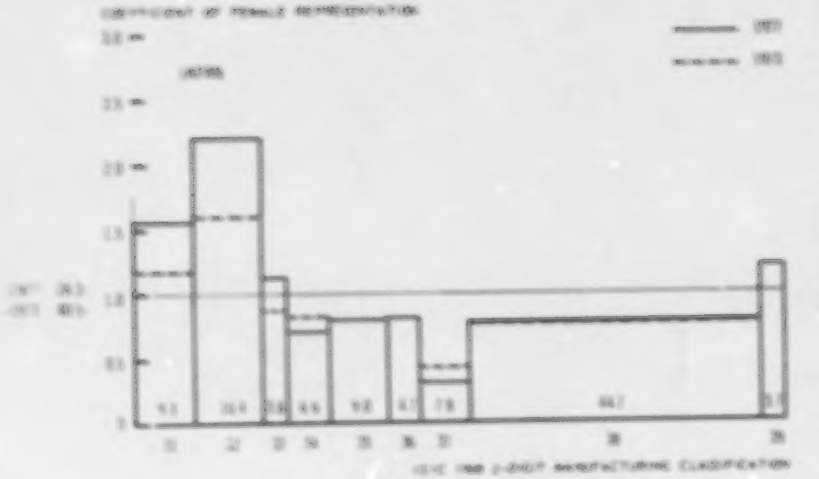

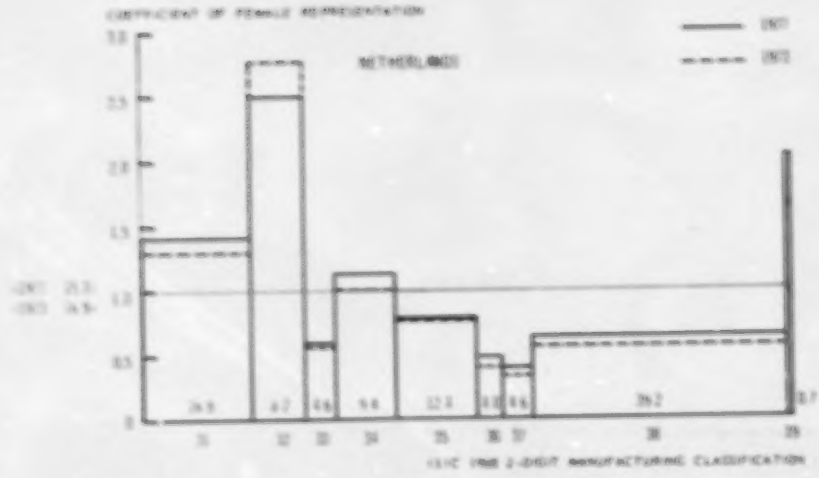

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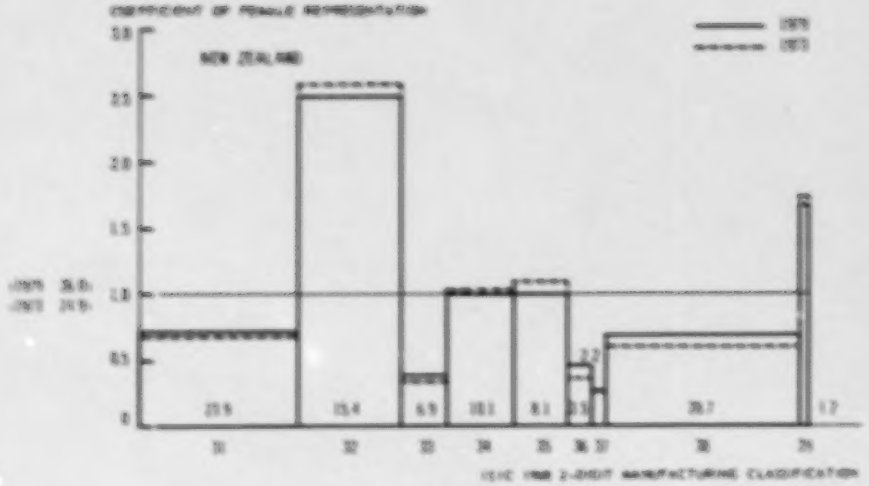

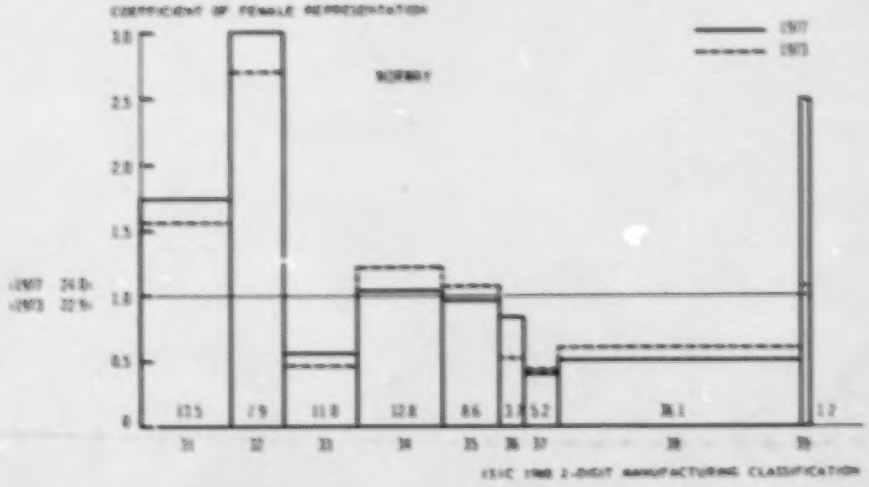

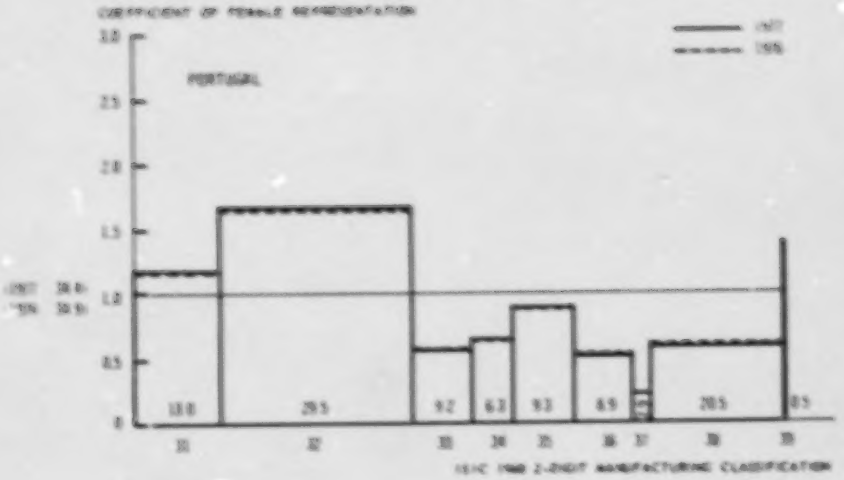
PORTUGAL
3.0
2.5
2.0
1.5
1.0
0.5
0
13.0
29.5
9.2
6.3
9.3
8.9
20.5
0.5
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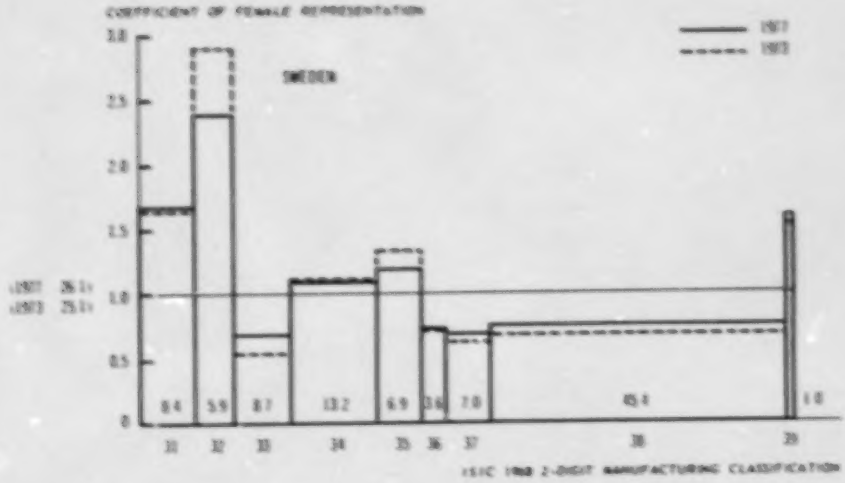
39
ISIC 1968 2-DIGIT MANUFACTURING CLASSIFICATION


SWEDEN
3.0
2.5
2.0
1.5
1.0
0.5
0
8.4
5.9
8.7
13.2
6.9
3.6
7.0
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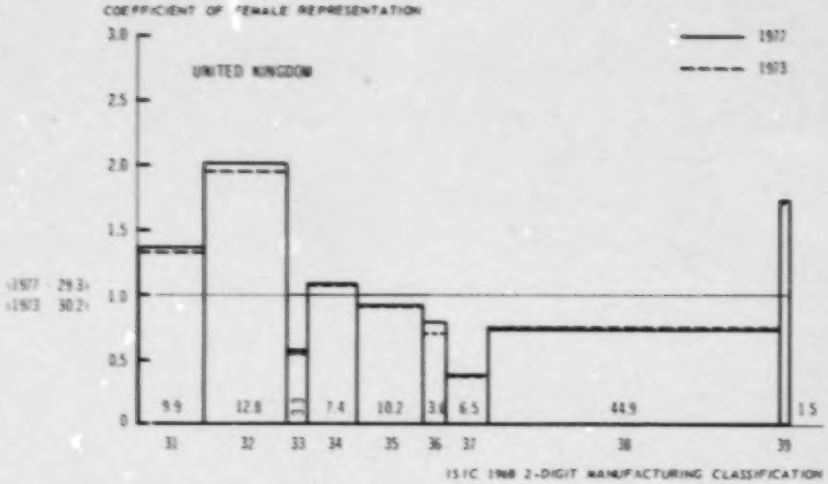
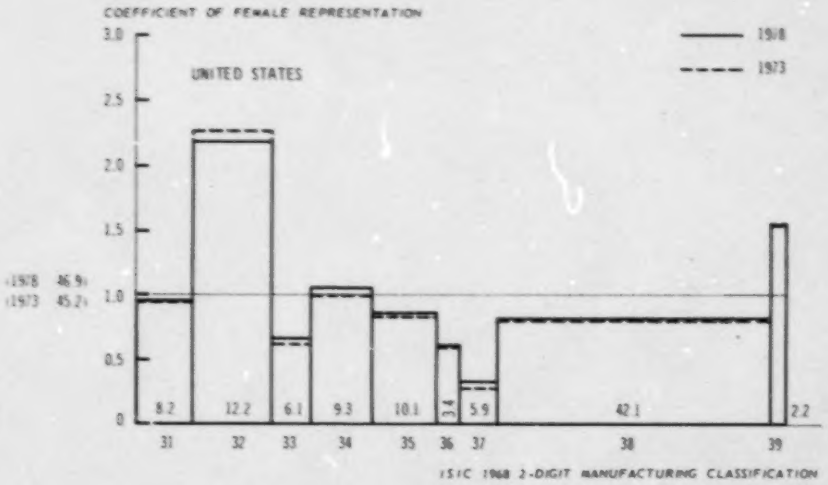
ISIC 1968 2-DIGIT MANUFACTURING CLASSIFICATION

Diagram 1-3 (cont'd)





Source: Country replies to the questionnaire prepared for the High Level Conference on the Employment of Women.

Annex II

Tables

EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICIES

Table II-1

GOVERNMENT OFFICES CONCERNED WITH WOMEN'S ISSUES

Country	National Commissions or Advisory Councils to Deal Comprehensively with Women's Issues		Women's Bureaus in Established Ministries	
	Year	Title	Year	Title
AUSTRALIA	1978	National Advisory Council on Women's Affairs reports through the Minister of Home Affairs	1965[1]	Women's Bureau - Department of Labour and National Service
AUSTRIA	1979	Equality Commission	1969	Committee for Labour Market Affairs of Women, Federal Ministry of Social Affairs, attached to Federal Advisory Council for Labour Market Policy
			1966	Women's Division - Federal Ministry of Social Affairs
BELGIUM	1975	Advisory Committee on the Status of Women	1975	Commission on the Employment of Women, Ministry of Employment and Labour
CANADA	1973	Minister responsible for the Status of Women	1976	Office of the Coordinator on the Status of Women
	1973	Advisory Council on the Status of Women		
	1970	Royal Commission on the Status of Women		
DENMARK	1975	Council on Equality (under the prime minister's office); given permanent status in 1978		
GERMANY	1973[2]	Commission of Inquiry for Women and Society, Ad Hoc Commission to German Bundestag	1979	Office on Women's Questions in the Ministry of Youth, Family, and Health
				Women's Division of the Ministry of the Interior
FINLAND	1972	Council for Equality of Men and Women (under the department of Social Planning)		

Table II-1 (Cont'd)

Country	National Commissions or Advisory Councils to Deal Comprehensively with Women's Issues		Women's Bureaus in Established Ministries	
	Year	Title	Year	Title
FRANCE			1978 (Sep.)	Ministry on the Status of Women
			1978 (Jan.)	State Department for the Employment of Women (Ministry of Labour)
GREECE		None		None
ICELAND			1976	Equality of Treatment Board, Civil Service Department of Ministry of Social Affairs
IRELAND	1970	Commission to Examine the Subject of the Status of Women	n.a.	Women's Representative Committee in the Department of Labour
ITALY			1962	National Consultative Commission on Problems of Women Workers, Ministry of Labour
JAPAN	1975	Advisory Council to the Prime Minister on Women's Affairs	1975	H.Q. for Planning and Promotion of Policies related to Women (Office of Prime Minister)
			1966	National Commission on the Status of Women in the Ministry of Labour
			1947	Women's and Young Workers Bureau of the Ministry of Labour
				Advisory Committee on Women's and Young Workers' Problems
LUXEMBOURG		None		None

Table II-1 (Cont'd)

Country	National Commissions or Advisory Councils to Deal Comprehensively with Women's Issues		Women's Bureaus in Established Ministries	
	Year	Title	Year	Title
NETHERLANDS	1974	National Advisory Commission on Emancipation	1978	State Secretary for Emancipation, Department of Cultural and Social Affairs
			1970	Advisory Committee on the Position Relating to the Employment of Women and Girls in the Ministry of Social Affairs
NEW ZEALAND		Select Committee on Women's Rights	1977	Committee on Women, Ministry of National Development
			1967	National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women
NORWAY	1972	Equal Status Council: Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity Council (set up independently to deal with equal pay for women only)	n.a.	Family and Equal Opportunity Bureau, Ministry of Consumer Affairs and Government Administration
PORTUGAL	n.a.	The Working Group for Defining National Policy regarding Women (UN, 1974)		
	n.a.	Commission on the Condition of Women (in the Office of the Prime Minister)		
SPAIN			1970	National Committee on Women's Employment in the Ministry of Labour (operative 1971)
			n.a.	Status of Women Branch, General Division of Community Development, Ministry of Culture
			n.a.	Women's Section, Ministry of Family, Youth and Sports
SWEDEN	1972	Advisory Council on Equality Between Men and Women (reorganised within the Ministry of Labour in 1976)	1976	Committee on Equality Between Men and Women, a parliamentary committee within the Ministry of Labour
SWITZERLAND	n.a.	Commission on Women		

Table II-1 (Cont'd)

Country	National Commissions or Advisory Councils to Deal Comprehensively with Women's Issues		Women's Bureaus in Established Ministries	
	Year	Title	Year	Title
TURKEY		None		None
UNITED KINGDOM	1975	Equal Opportunities Commission[4]		
	1969	Women's National Commission of Great Britain		
UNITED STATES[3]	1961	Commission on the Status of Women[5]	1920[1]	Women's Bureau, Department of Labor
YUGOSLAVIA		None		None

1) There also are women's bureaus in state departments of labour.
2) Newly constituted, 1977.
3) There is also an interdepartmental committee dealing with all actions being taken towards women's equality.
4) Since 1977, Northern Ireland has had an Equal Opportunities Commission.
5) The United States has state commissions on the status of women.

Table II-2

NATIONAL EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY: CURRENT PRINCIPAL MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation			Principal Implementing Measures		
		Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery
AUSTRALIA[1]	Equal Pay		X		1972	General federal commitment	Committees on Discrimination in Employment and Occupation
	Equal Opportunity		X		1973	General federal commitment	Minister of Employment and Industrial Relations
AUSTRIA	Equal Pay		X		1979	Law on Equal Treatment of Woman and Man in Determining Remuneration (effective July 1, 1979)	Equality Commission investigates infringements in case of individual contracts and collective agreements; renders opinions that are made public.
	Equal Opportunity		in prep.				
BELGIUM[2]	Equal Pay			X	1975	National Employment Council's Collective Labour Agreement No. 25 rendered mandatory by Royal Decree of 9 December.	Labour inspectors check enforcement and investigate complaints. Labour Inspectorate Council of Experts can offer opinions on particular court cases.
	Equal Opportunity		X		1978	Title V of the law on Economic Reorientation	

Table II-2 (Cont'd)

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation			Principal Implementing Measures		
		Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery
CANADA	Equal Pay		X		1977	Canadian Human Rights Act	Canadian Human Rights Commission
					1971	Equal pay provisions incorporated into Canadian Labor Code	Labor Standards Branch, Canadian Department of Labor
	Equal Opportunity		X		1977	Canadian Human Rights Act	Canadian Human Rights Commission
DENMARK	Equal Pay		X		1976	Equal Pay Law No. 32	Conciliation and courts
				X	1973	National Collective Bargaining Agreement between Workers Confederation (L.O.) and Employers Confederation (D.A.)	
	Equal Opportunity		X		1978	Equal Treatment Act	Council on Equality
GERMANY	Equal Pay	X	in prep.		1952	Law of enterprises	
					1949	Basic law	
	Equal Opportunity	X	in prep.		in prep.	Enactment of this legislation will apply the principle of equality during all stages of employment and will make statutory the principle of equal pay for equal, or comparable work.	Conciliation and courts

Table II-2 (Cont'd)

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation			Principal Implementing Measures		
		Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery
FINLAND	Equal Pay		X		1970	Terms of Employment Act (encompasses wage discrimination)	Labour inspectors: reliance on employers and workers organisations
				X		National equality agreement between employers and unions	
	Equal Opportunity		X		1970	Terms of Employment Act	Labour inspectors: reliance on employers and workers organisations
FRANCE	Equal Pay		X		1972	Act No. 72-1143 respecting equal remuneration for men and and women, implemented through directive in 1973	Labour and Manpower Inspectors in Ministry of Labour
	Equal Opportunity		X		1975	Act No. 76-625, part of article 416 of penal code; fine for discriminating in hiring or firing because of sex or race	None
GREECE	Equal Pay			X	1975	National Collective Agreement	
	Equal Opportunity					None	
ICELAND	Equal Pay		X		1961	Law No. 60 on equal remuneration (enforced progressively between 1962 and 1967)	
	Equal Opportunity						

Table II-2 (Cont'd)

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation			Principal Implementing Measures		
		Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery
IRELAND	Equal Pay		X		1974	Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act (Amended by Employment Equality Act)	Equality Officers of Labour Courts: investigate, issue recommendations to court Employment Equality Agency: can bring case on behalf of individual to labour court
	Equal Opportunity		X		1977	Employment Equality Act	Employment Equality Agency: formal investigations, issues non-discrimination notices, seeks High Court injunction for persistent discrimination
			in prep.		in prep.	Anti-discrimination (Employment) Act	
ITALY	Equal Pay		X		1977	Anti-discrimination Act (encompasses wage discrimination) Law No. 903	Works Inspectorate: inspectors report offences to judicial authorities Conciliation instituted by a representative organisation before the Conciliation Committee within provincial Labour and Full Employment Office
	Equal Opportunity		X		1977	Anti-discrimination Act, Law No. 903	

Table II-2 (Cont'd)

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation			Principal Implementing Measures		
		Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery
JAPAN	Equal Pay		X		1947	Section 1, Article 4 of Labour Standards Act (Law No. 49)	Ministry of Labour, network of inspectorates: Labour Standards Bureau, Labour Standards Inspectors, Labour Standards Inspection Office Ministry of Labour, Women's and Young Workers' Bureau
	Equal Opportunity		X		1972	Working Women's Welfare Act No. 113	Ministry of Labour, Women's and Young Workers' Bureau
LUXEMBOURG	Equal Pay		X		1974	Grand-Ducal Regulation	Works and Mines Inspectorate: inspects, registers collective agreements
	Equal Opportunity					None	
NETHERLANDS	Equal Pay		X		1975	Equal Pay Act	Equal Pay Commission with assistance of Wage Bureau of Social Affairs Ministry: receives complaints, advises individual before court proceedings, mediates, produces report on which legal proceedings may be founded
	Equal Opportunity		in prep.			In preparation (introduced into Parliament December 1978)[3]	

Table II-2 (Cont'd)

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation			Principal Implementing Measures		
		Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery
NEW ZEALAND	Equal Pay		X		1972	Equal Pay Act (fully implemented 1977)	Grievance procedure of industrial relations system or mediation of Factory Inspectorate of Department of Labour
	Equal Opportunity		X		1977	Human Rights Commission Act	Human Rights Commission: Conciliation
NORWAY	Equal Pay		X		1978	Promotion of Equality between the Sexes Act	
				X	1961[4]	General agreement between Norwegian Employers' Federation (NAF) and General Confederation of Trade Unions (LO)	
	Equal Opportunity		X		1978	Promotion of Equality between the Sexes Act (effective March 1979)	Equal Status Council; Equal Status Ombudsman; Appeals Board
PORTUGAL	Equal Pay	X			1933	Provision in the Constitution	
	Equal Opportunity[5]					None	

Table II-2 (Cont'd)

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation			Principal Implementing Measures		
		Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery
SPAIN	Equal Pay		X		1962	Decree No. 258 to provide for application in matters of employment of Act No. 56 of 1961 (Basic law on the rights of women)	
	Equal Opportunity[5]					None	
SWEDEN	Equal Pay			X		Wage Solidarity Agreement	Appropriate trade union officials
	Equal Opportunity		X		1978	Anti-discrimination legislation	
				X	1977	Equality Agreements between Employers' Association (SAF) and each of two major trade unions (PTK) and (LO)	Committee for Sex Equality: final dispute-resolving method is arbitration
SWITZERLAND[2]	Equal Pay	in prep.				Switzerland is working on an amendment to the Constitution concerning equal pay for equal or comparable work, and equal treatment and opportunities in education, occupational training, employment and work.	
	Equal Opportunity	in prep.					
TURKEY	Equal Pay		X		1971	Section 26 of the Labour Act	Penal Sanctions
	Equal Opportunity[6]					None	

Table II-2 (Cont'd)

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation			Principal Implementing Measures		
		Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery
UNITED KINGDOM	Equal Pay		X		1970	Equal Pay Act - came into force in 1975	Industrial Tribunal for individual complaints
	Equal Opportunity		X		1975	Sex Discrimination Act	Equal Opportunity Commission; Industrial Tribunal for individual complaints
UNITED STATES[1]	Equal Pay		X		1963	Equal Pay Act of the Fair Labor Standards Act	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (formerly the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor)
	Equal Opportunity		X		1968	Executive Order 11375 which extended Executive Order 11246 to include sex	Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs
			X		1964	Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (amended in 1972)	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
YUGOSLAVIA	Equal Pay[7]				n.a.	Article 154 of the Constitution	
	Equal Opportunity[7]						

1) Many states have an anti-discrimination act and/or an equal pay act and have committees on discrimination (or equal employment opportunity commissions, for the United States).
2) Belgium and Switzerland have laws empowering the authorities to refuse to give binding force erga omnes discriminatory collective agreements in which the principle of equality before the law was not respected.
3) A temporary measure to prohibit dismissal of a woman because of her marital status has been in effect since May 1979.
4) This is the first collective agreement to include equal pay. Subsequent collective agreements implicitly respect, but do not explicitly restate, the equal pay principle.
5) Spain and Portugal have constitutional provisions which state the principle of equality in matters pertaining to employment and occupation, but which do not specifically mention sex discrimination in employment.
6) The Constitution proclaims in general terms that all citizens are equal, but employment matters are not specifically mentioned.
7) Article 154 of the Constitution of Yugoslavia refers to equality of rights and conditions of women, but does not explicitly mention equal pay or other employment matters.

Table II-3

EQUAL PAY POLICY: IMPLEMENTING INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURE FOR COMPLAINT RESOLUTION

Country	Principal Implementing Measure	Secondary Implementing Measure	Who Initiates	Initial Forum of Dispute Resolution	Subsequent Forum of Dispute Resolution	Enforcement Agency	
						Name	Function
BELGIUM	Royal Decree of 9 Dec. 1975 giving binding force to Collective Employment Agreement No. 25 concluded on 15 Oct. 1975 within National Labour Council	Article 128 of Title V of law on economic reorientation (4 Aug.78) concerns equal treatment of men and women as regards working conditions including "remuneration and its protection".	Individual or union	Against employer: → Complaint brought to competent court or tribunal Against Collective Agreement: Complaint brought before the Conseil d'Etat (Council of State) if agreement given binding force by a Royal Decree; and before Labour Tribunal if agreement not binding.	Higher Civil Courts (Cours de Cassation)	Inspection des lois sociales (Social Law Inspectorate) Ministry of Labour	Performs on-the-spot inspections; receives and investigates complaints May ask the "commissions paritaires" (sectoral joint committees) to report on measures taken within their sphere to secure implementation.
CANADA	Canadian Human Rights Act, Section XI		Individual (or group of individuals) or the Human Rights Commission	Individual complaint → brought to Human Rights Commission where conciliation between parties is attempted	Human Rights Tribunal (complainant has no means of appeal)	Human Rights Commission	Checks and verifies wage schemes and analyses various systems of remuneration; investigates individual or group complaints and verifies that corrections are made; advises employers who want to comply with the law; may initiate complaints.
GERMANY	Basic law, (Article 1)	. Law of 9 April 49 on collective agreements . Law of 5 Jan. 72 on the organisation of undertakings . Federal law of 15 March 74 and Länder laws on staff representatives (applicable to all public services)	Individual or representative of a group of individuals	Complaint through → normal channels (trade unions, staff representatives, works councils, conciliation boards)	Labour Tribunals: Local, Land, Federal (binding)	No administrative control	

Table II-3 (Cont'd)

Country	Principal Implementing Measure	Secondary Implementing Measure	Who Initiates	Initial Forum of Dispute Resolution	Subsequent Forum of Dispute Resolution	Enforcement Agency	
						Name	Function
FRANCE	Law No. 72-1143 22 Dec. 1972	Law of 13 July 71; National Collective Agreements must provide for procedures to settle equal pay dispute	Individual and/or trade union and/or labour inspector	→	Normal right of recourse to civil courts and to Conseils de Prud'hommes (Conciliation Boards). Eventual appeal to higher Civil Courts and Labour Inspector response: If violation of law, reports to the Public Prosecutor who initiates proceedings in criminal court.	Multiple enforcement efforts: Ministry of Labour. Labour inspection Section and Police and Criminal Investigation Department.	All check whether law enforced through routine inspections and through investigations following complaint; will report to the Public Prosecutor (criminal proceedings) in case of lack of voluntary compliance.
				Individual: Complaint brought to attention of labour inspector who organises investigation and conciliation →			
				Public Employee: Complaint brought to administrative courts →	Conseil d'Etat		
				Trade Unions: May initiate proceedings before civil, criminal, or administrative courts on their own behalf →	Conseil d'Etat		
UNITED KINGDOM	Equal Pay Act, 29 May 70. Went into full effect 29 Dec. 75	Sex Discrimination Act of 12 Nov. 75	Individual or Secretary of State for Employment (if individual cannot bring case herself) or union	Individual: Complaint brought to Industrial Tribunal (individual can be assisted by Equal Opportunities Commission). Tribunal always refers case to Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service for mediation.	If conciliation fails, Industrial Tribunal must decide. Decision can be appealed at Employment Appeals Tribunal	Equal Opportunities Commission	Undertakes investigations, assists individual complaints; takes action against persistent discrimination
						Secretary of State for Employment	Can require an Equal Opportunities Commission investigation and can initiate complaints.
				Union: Bring complaint to Central Arbitration Committee		Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service	Advises and mediates industrial disputes including equal pay complaints
						Central Arbitration Committee	Makes amendments needed to remove discrimination in collective agreements and in employers' pay structures referred to it by either party or by Secretary of State for Employment

Table II-3 (Cont'd)

Country	Principal Implementing Measure	Secondary Implementing Measure	Who initiates	Initial Forum of Dispute Resolution	Subsequent Forum of Dispute Resolution	Enforcement Agency	
						Name	Function
UNITED STATES	Equal Pay Act of 1963	Title VII of Civil Rights Act, 1964. (Employment in broadest sense, including remuneration)	Individual or Department of Labor, Federal Labor Standards Act Branch	Individual: Complaint brought to FLSA branch, or to state agency dealing with Equal Opportunities complaints in states that have an Equal Opportunity law or Equal Pay Law. →	Courts	Department of Labor, Fair Labor Standards Act Branch	Initiates inspections; receives and investigates complaints; negotiates settlements, prosecutes offenders
				→	Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission if complaint dissatisfied.	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	Receives and investigates complaints; negotiates settlements; assists individuals in court; has prosecutory powers.

II

THE GROWING ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE : ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Note for discussion (1)

1. LARGE-SCALE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE AS A CONTINUING FEATURE OF ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES

The fast rates of economic expansion in the 1960s and particularly in the early 1970s created a strong demand for labour witnessed by increased employment of women and rise in real earnings. But women, drawn into the labour force by tight labour markets, did not leave it when the markets slackened: in fact, women's participation has continued to rise in most countries since 1974. This is partly because many of the industries (like services) in which women were concentrated did not immediately feel the impact of recession and slow growth. It is also partly because many married women sought paid employment to contribute to family incomes which were not growing as expected. A complex economic situation in most countries in recent years, of different rates of growth of employment in different sectors and in particular of a relative stagnation in manufacturing compared with the expansion in services, has both pushed and pulled women into employment and the search for employment in a period of slow overall economic growth.

There is however no evidence to suggest that if and when more rapid growth is resumed, and real earnings are able to rise more rapidly, women will leave the labour force.

> High participation of women now seems a permanent feature of the labour market, and in most countries the rate of future increases in female participation will result largely from the offsetting forces of the married women who wish to continue or to return to work, and the tendencies towards longer education and earlier retirement.

1) This note suggested the main issues on which the discussion of Item 5 of the Agenda should concentrate.

2. THE EFFECTS OF PRESENT AND FUTURE LABOUR MARKET SLACK ON THE TREND TOWARDS HIGHER RATES OF PARTICIPATION

This underlying trend of increased participation in OECD countries must of course be dealt with in the present context of high rates of unemployment. Given the problems of inflation and energy shortages, the immediate and prospective rates of economic growth may not employ fully all those men and women offering themselves for employment in the next few years. During the course of the 1980s the effect of earlier falls in the birth rate will produce in most countries substantial declines in the rates of growth of school leavers seeking jobs. Until this happens the prospect, with all the uncertainties of economic forecasting, is that the present unemployment situation will not improve.

> For women, the present situation is that in most cases their unemployment rates are generally higher than for men of all age groups.

In this difficult situation, both employed and unemployed workers are competing for jobs. The question arises as to whether adult women are competing with other groups for jobs and whether governments should determine which of these groups should have priority in the programmes to promote employment.

In the present segmented labour market, competition between young men in general and either young or adult women is unlikely to be very great. However, in that part of the labour market where skills and experience are not required, there may be some occupations and industries where inexperienced and unqualified young men compete with inexperienced and unqualified young and adult women. The other possible area of competition is between female school leavers and young mothers, who in increasing numbers continue in employment after the birth of their children. In the past, young mothers would have left the labour force, to be replaced in part by school leavers; today, this replacement cycle is becoming weaker as child-care facilities improve, as families become dependent on two incomes, and as the number of families headed by a woman (with no man present) continues to rise.

Thus, governments may face the difficult issue of whether to give priority in policy to the employment of any group in view of the need of all groups for permanent, paid employment. Furthermore, in the next decade if the barriers to women's employment in a widening range of occupations and industries were lowered, the degree of competition between all groups could increase, especially if economic growth continues to be slow. Although such a situation is not a

major concern today, governments need to be aware of the possibility that it could develop in the future. At the present time, in a majority of countries, women, both young and adult, appear to be bearing a heavy burden of the costs of slow growth in terms of unemployment and reduced working time.

> Governments will no doubt wish to subscribe to the principle that measures to combat unemployment should be chosen in equitable ways which do not discriminate against women.

The pursuit of this principle is clearly difficult in a situation when some groups are bound to suffer, and

> the real issues lie not so much in the principle as in its practical application in the present situation. When positive measures are adopted, for example in relation to young people, women should get their fair share of the opportunities. When negative measures cannot be avoided (dismissals, early retirement and short-time working) women should not be subject to discrimination.

5. THE PITFALLS AND ADVANTAGES OF PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT

While in some countries part-time employment is irregular, poorly paid and frequently linked with unsatisfactory working conditions, in other countries regular and organised part-time employment, especially organised for women with family responsibilities, students and older people, is a normal and acceptable form of employment. In some of these countries this form of permanent employment of women has increased substantially over the past decade - seemingly as an important part of the overall response to the wish of more women to work. Some governments, as part of policies to foster the employment of women, have explicitly encouraged employers to offer part-time work.

Thus, there is a clear issue as to the proper role of part-time employment in the future development of the labour market. In one sense part-time work may be an essential response to the needs of those who wish to spread their time between employment and other activities - and therefore fits constructively into a positive concept of "work sharing" with no cost-raising consequences. On the other hand, it could become a "second-rate" form of employment for weak social groups. Whatever the attitude in different OECD countries, it is clear that workers who elect this option should not suffer low pay or poor working conditions, nor should their eligibility for social security benefits be undermined.

Governments may wish to consider whether in the long run more flexible working-time arrangements, with adequate safeguards over pay, working conditions and social security benefits, may provide both more efficiency in labour markets as well as widening the range of choices available to all workers - men as well as women.

4. THE IMPORTANCE OF MEDIUM-TERM EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OBJECTIVES

Any action, or lack of action, which allows the cost of unemployment to fall unduly heavily on particular groups of workers is not only inequitable, but also short-sighted. In view of the prospective decline of the rate of growth of Member countries' labour forces, for demographic reasons, there will be an associated fall in the ratio of population of working age to total population in the second half of the 1980s. Therefore, it may be regarded as inefficient for married women, as it is for youth - both male and female - to lose their skills or be denied work experience and training during a period of slow employment growth.

Thus, given the likely difficulty of achieving full employment for some years in many OECD countries, there is a premium on policies which sustain the working skills, attitudes and mobility of as many workers and potential workers as possible. Rather than to discourage women workers, it would be necessary to meet economic needs as well as to fill current skill shortages to give more extensive opportunities to women for vocational training and retraining, and more diversified educational preparation.

Technical changes are another reason for making such an investment over the medium term. There is no clear and unambiguous evidence available that women as a group are specially liable to experience more redundancy than men, either now or in the future. Nevertheless, the possibility does exist of large scale disappearance of work at present done in some countries mainly by women: for instance, some labour-intensive clerical and secretarial work, and also semi-skilled manufacturing work, may be replaced by work which requires new or other skills.

For these reasons, in formulating medium-term employment objectives for women, there may be specially strong arguments for investing now in vocational training and retraining, and occupational educational opportunities for women. This could be considered as an investment in human resources not only for progressive absorption into

reviving labour markets, but also to remove some of the barriers against women entering many occupations and also against receiving promotions.

5. THE FAMILY AND THE LABOUR MARKET

In the periods of successful economic recovery and sustained economic growth since the Second World War, no less than in the recession and slow growth since 1974, countries have experienced important changes in social life. The rising participation of women in the labour force of most Member countries has probably been the main link between social and economic changes. As such it has mirrored important changes in the institution of the family. Member countries, despite strong common elements in political and economic philosophy, show dissimilarities in social philosophy and social institutions, particularly with regard to the values affecting family life. Nevertheless, the last quarter century has witnessed important changes in the family in all countries.

These changes have particularly affected the status, role and activities of women in the family, and include demographic changes, of which the decline in the completed family size is the most important; educational changes, of which the most important is the increased period of education given to girls and young women; legal changes, including increased ease of divorce and enhancement of women's property rights; changes in interpersonal relationships such as a more equal relationship between husband and wife, and of parents and children; and increases in the number of female single parent families.

The important conclusion for governments is that the present high and rising levels of female participation in the labour market are inextricably linked with these other permanent changes in the institution of the family and the place of women in society: demography, education, law, interpersonal relationships, family structure and economy all appear to have moved irreversibly in one broad direction, that of giving women greater opportunities and responsibility to choose their role in both the family and the economy.

There is in consequence a challenging problem of the design of government machinery to formulate and implement adequate policies. No simple model will be appropriate in all countries, but it is to be noted that a growing number of countries are establishing advisory or co-ordinating machinery at the highest levels of government.

Policy co-ordination cannot be effective without clear policy objectives, and it is of course in this respect that different

historical and political conditions lead to a variety of approaches in Member countries. In some countries the principle of free access of all women to full-time regular employment is strongly emphasised. In others, the family is considered as so central to the social structure that high priority is given to family policy. In yet other countries, emphasis is placed on those measures which will help women to reconcile child care with participation in the labour market.

> But it is nevertheless possible that all advanced, industrial democracies could accept the basic principle that government policies should remove obstacles to men and women making a free choice in the allocation of their time, by not putting pressures on them either to stay at home or to seek paid employment.

Two important areas in which government actions influence these choices are in taxation and rights to social security benefits. Taxation provisions which discriminate against married women taking employment, while inequitable can also be seen as economically inefficient in that they can prevent the most effective use of scarce human resources. Social security benefit entitlement rules which discriminate against some groups of women in the matter of eligibility for benefits such as child allowances, old age pensions or unemployment benefits have similar consequences.

Practices and philosophy vary considerably among Member countries and it is not practicable or desirable that there be uniform systems; however a guiding principle in the reform of tax systems and social security systems is that neither system should bias the decisions taken in families or household as to which members seek paid employment. That decision should be the result of a free choice based on personal capabilities and individual responsibilities. There is no reason why such reforms should necessitate higher taxes or increased government expenditure. However, if taxation receipts and social security expenditures remain unchanged, reforms which redistribute benefits in favour of women will either increase tax rates of men or reduce their benefits.

> Governments may wish to agree that in the interests of efficiency no less than of equity, and of financial independence of individuals, tax and social security systems should treat men and women in the same way, and should be neutral towards (i.e. not bias) the decisions as to how much paid employment each member of the family takes.

Policies to facilitate entry into the labour force, such as the provision of child-care facilities and the encouragement of more equal sharing of responsibilities between husbands and wives, are of great importance for women with family responsibilities who wish to undertake paid employment. While the philosophy and practice regarding the provision and financing of these facilities varies between countries,

> it is important that the public provision of, or support towards, paying for such facilities be made in ways that do not discriminate against women in employment.

III

SEGREGATION AND THE FUNCTIONING OF LABOUR MARKETS

Note for discussion (1)

The differential participation of men and women in labour markets does not necessarily constitute deliberate "segregation", but it would no doubt be generally agreed that the massive differences which exist today cannot be entirely explained by rational labour market behaviour. Labour markets are, of course, "segmented" by various factors such as sex, age and skill level and will, to some extent, continue to be so. However, the aim of economic, labour market and social policy should be to remove "discrimination", to promote increasingly open rational labour markets and to combat prejudice in the social system which narrows the aspiration and limits the opportunities of women as compared with men.

Nevertheless, it is only realistic to recognise that some policies to achieve equality of pay and opportunity could raise unit labour costs at least in the short run and might adversely affect employment opportunities for women, and the competitive position of the industries in which they work.

However, in the longer term the economy will benefit from anti-segregation measures which reduce the barriers between different parts of the labour market, increasing the degree of competition between men and women in the market and raising the elasticity of supply of labour in general. Furthermore, the reduction of remaining barriers preventing women from entering the labour market will have similar effects on competition and elasticity of supply. In the longer term these beneficial results are likely to lower the inflation rates, whereas attempts to reduce the supply of labour (by, for instance, discouraging married women from working), would have the opposite effect.

It is, therefore, exceedingly important to clarify, in terms of international comparisons for the OECD area, the extent to which women are concentrated, or "segregated", in a limited number of industries and occupations, with unequal pay and conditions of work, and the costs and benefits of desirable changes.

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1) This note suggested the main issues on which the discussion under Item 5 of the Agenda should concentrate.

1. THE PERSISTENCE OF SEGREGATION IN LABOUR MARKETS DESPITE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICIES

The Analytical Report by the Secretariat leads to the general conclusion that high degrees of segregation have persisted in spite of widespread policies to promote equal opportunities and treatment of women.

Historical factors are no doubt part of the explanation. In particular, the heavy concentration of women in the service sectors in most countries partly reflects the fact that recent economic growth resulted in a strong demand for labour by the expanding service sectors. Concentration of women in other industries, as in certain branches of manufacturing in developing or industrialising countries, can in a similar way be explained by the coincidence of a strong demand for labour with the existence of an untapped supply of women. These historical developments produced the phenomenon of a simultaneous increase in both female participation and segregation. In many countries migrant women experience additional difficulties in securing entrance to labour markets and in finding and keeping adequate employment due to language barriers.

The proper interpretation of these developments is not that all the large and widespread efforts of Member governments to provide equal opportunities for women have been unsuccessful. But they do underline the reality that no single instrument of government policy is likely to have a massive effect, and that effective policies will depend on a complex, interactive set of instruments administered over considerable periods of time.

> The need for adequate co-ordinating machinery at high levels of government responsibility (see page 125) is thereby re-emphasised. Such government arrangements should not themselves reflect a concept of "segregation" in that they deal with women's employment and wages as a special area, but rather reflect influence over the whole range of government policies and be staffed accordingly.

2. A COMBINATION OF POLICY INSTRUMENTS TO DIMINISH SEGREGATION

As policies to combat inequalities have evolved in Member countries, it has become recognised that there are three main sources of discrimination: direct discrimination against women; indirect discrimination which arises from the ways in which systems of hiring, promoting and training operate; and attitudes and roles which arise from the processes of socialisation.

Historically, political rights and equal pay were the spearheads of policy, but the persistence of segregation has resulted in increasing emphasis on instruments to deal with indirect discrimination and to influence public opinion and cultural attitudes to the role of men and women. Today, the cutting edge of the policy strategy appears to be changing, with some still relying on formal notions of equality based on law, and with others advancing to concepts of social change more fundamentally affecting the respective roles of men and women in society.

Within these broad strategies, the policy instruments range from laws enforced by courts, the actions of administrative tribunals, publicised investigations by public and private bodies, education through the media and collective agreements between unions and employers.

a) The attack on direct discrimination through the law

Most countries regard it as important to adopt a special law prohibiting sex discrimination in employment, which may be supplemented by constitutional guarantees for equal rights or by collective bargaining agreements. Experience suggests, however, that such a law is of limited effectiveness especially when it embodies only a direct discrimination approach in which individual complaints about specific employer actions are investigated. Laws may prove more effective if they contain a clear definition of what constitutes discrimination, a set of straightforward enforcement procedures which provide for government-initiated investigations, and strong sanctions for non-compliance.

Their effectiveness also depends on: procedures for monitoring and enforcing the movement towards agreed objectives; use of the media to inform women both of the existence of the law and their rights under it, and to disseminate information on the actual treatment and position of women on the labour market; public investigation into discrimination and its effect and administrative agencies to support enterprise efforts to develop new personnel procedures so that new occupational patterns can emerge.

Even if all these conditions are met, there remains the central issue of to what extent, in the market economy, legislation can overcome basic economic forces. For example, the goal of "equality of remuneration including all payments, and fringe benefits, for 'work of equal value', or work otherwise defined as equal"(1) has had usually a pre-eminence and priority in action. However, experience has shown that a basic cause of inequality of earnings is the segregation of women into particular low paid occupations, as distinct

1) Equal Opportunities for Women, op.cit., p. 210.

from inequality in rate of pay for the same work. Furthermore, equal pay policies can potentially have the effects of reducing the employment of women.

Likewise, women are protected in Member countries from accidents, disease and other hazards by legislation prohibiting their employment in certain occupations and under certain conditions. The purpose behind such legislation is not easily reconcilable with the goal of equality of opportunity or with the changed role of women in the family, and several Member countries are at the present time reviewing their protective legislation with the objective of providing all workers with a safe and healthy environment.

> All these considerations lead to the basic conclusion that the direct attack on equality of opportunities through the law needs to be supplemented by other policy instruments which can reduce segregation in the labour market by limiting indirect discrimination or changing social attitudes.

b) Affirmative action to reduce indirect discrimination

Affirmative action consists of a set of policies and objectives designed to enable a group which has previously suffered either from discrimination or from lack of equal opportunity to increase its representation in training courses, occupations or industries dominated by other groups. It may involve, for example, the specification of a target proportion of women in a particular type and grade of job and lay down a timetable for the achievement of the target.

Supporters of affirmative action stress that it is necessary as a way of redressing the disadvantages suffered by minority groups. Opponents argue that programmes designed to favour women must involve discrimination against men (although United States legislation and court decisions draw a distinction between affirmative action and reverse discrimination). Furthermore, women who are hired and promoted during the course of an affirmative action programme are vulnerable to the charge that they owe their positions not to their own merits, but to the fact that they are women. Many women are anxious to succeed, and to be seen to succeed on the basis of their own qualifications and abilities. Their success might be devalued if it were regarded as part of a programme to fulfil a target.

> All would no doubt agree that merit should be the basic criterion, but fundamental changes in education and training would be required to fully legitimise this principle, and in the immediate situation affirmative action of one sort or another appears to be indispensable.

c) Changing attitudes and culturally defined roles

In liberal societies, it is a political question whether governments should directly intervene in changing basic social attitudes and cultural values. On the other hand, the conventional sex-typing of occupations by parents, teachers and the public at large, and the culturally-determined educational choices of girls and young women reflect an historical bias in public policy in many countries which should be corrected so as to respect the basic political principle of the free choice of individuals. There are many domains of educational policy and public information through which a continuing attempt to dissolve stereotyped attitudes can be undertaken by the public authorities. In education, the spread of comprehensive secondary education since World War II has, of course, resulted in a common curriculum for boys and girls - even if some bias remains in textbooks and teachers' attitudes. But the persisting slackness in labour markets since 1974/75 has led to a reassertion of the importance of vocational education, in some countries at the upper end of basic secondary education, in all countries after the official school-leaving age. It is here that social bias affecting course and occupational choices is deeply embedded, and where a concerted effort by educational and labour market authorities is needed.

It needs to be recognised that this is a wider issue than education as such, since it reflects family structure, the functioning of the labour market and public attitudes at large.

Government action is therefore needed through all the channels whereby official bodies inform the public and provide a more informed basis for democratic choices by citizens.

3. THE NEED FOR A "RECURRENT" EDUCATION, TRAINING AND CAREER SYSTEM

The evidence of occupational segregation by sex set out in the Analytical Report makes it clear that a sustained effort by many authorities - educational, labour market, employers and trade unions - will be needed to change substantially the present unsatisfactory situation.

As set out above, policies in basic education have an important role to play. But the broader question is whether women and perhaps workers with family responsibilities would obtain special benefits from an educational, training and career system which was more discontinuous or "recurrent" - that is to say based on educational and training opportunities available at older ages and related to occupational training and career re-adaptation. Whilst there are many

signs that a system less based on tying careers to initial education is developing in many countries for all groups, it appears likely that women, and in particular married women, could obtain special benefits. First of all, it could provide a "second chance" for many able women who are locked into careers below their capabilities. Second, it would help to make careers and child-rearing more complementary, particularly bearing in mind that smaller and earlier families mean that a growing number of women wish to re-enter employment while they are still relatively young.

Such a "recurrent" approach should not take the pressure off equality of opportunity in basic and higher education, but it would present a wider range of opportunities for discontinuous career development. Care would also have to be taken to give priority to the needs of working women who are obliged to work full-time to sustain satisfactory levels of family income. For them, the accent should be on widespread access to training and retraining facilities.

> Thus, co-operation between educational and labour market authorities, together with employers and unions, is necessary to develop more "recurrent" education, training and career opportunities for women.

4. THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

A powerful instrument in the opening of equal opportunity for women lies in the direct action of governments themselves, through their own recruitment and promotion procedures, through their placement services, through their activities in the areas of employment of youth, and through their procurement policies so as to require private firms to implement equal opportunity policies as a condition of government purchases.

The public sector plays a direct role as a major employer of women: it is probably the largest employer of women in most countries, and in whose labour force the share of women has risen rapidly in recent years. However, the occupational segregation of women inside the public sector is still very high, with women being employed typically as teachers, typists and nurses.

> Governments themselves, through their own recruitment, training and promotion policies may wish to affirm or reaffirm that they will create greater equality of opportunity for women in public sector employment.

Until social attitudes change, the public authorities charged with assisting the placing of school leavers in occupations have a

major part to play in opening up a wider range of occupational opportunities for women. Evidence available suggests that these authorities at the present time play a relatively passive role.

> Such authorities - vocational guidance officers and employment or placement agencies - are in a strategic position to influence both employers and young women so as to reduce segregation.

The aim of reducing segregation can also be assisted by the activities of public authorities promoting youth employment programmes. Again, available evidence suggests that job creation in the public sector mirrors the wider segmented labour market, with young men disproportionately represented in construction and related areas, and young women in community and social service areas; while wage subsidies to the private sector have mirrored the existing employment patterns of individual firms.

> Both types of schemes should offer an important opportunity to influence employers (both public and private), and to overcome the discriminatory effects of other institutions in the process of education and transition to employment.

The success of government policies to create equal opportunities in the labour market for women may be measured, in part, by the changes in the degree of segregation and the change in the difference between wages of the two sexes for work of a similar type. The Analytical Report contains an example of an experimental measure of change in countries' overall degree of segregation.

What role could periodic national surveys of progress towards equality of opportunity for women - possibly using internationally agreed statistical measures - play in facilitating exchange of information on the effects of policies and measures in Member countries?

IV

COMMENTS BY THE BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY ADVISORY COMMITTEE (BIAC)

for the consultation on 15 April 1980 (1)

The description of the position of women in OECD countries(2) reveals a certain number of common factors which should make it possible to orient research towards the following themes:

- better integration of women in working life
- reconciling working and family life
- protecting the welfare of the family.

The issue of equal treatment of men and women in the system of social security is related to problems of employment of women. Nevertheless, in view that it is very complex and not in the centre of the subject, it shall not be dealt with in this paper.

In elaborating these comments, BIAC has been guided by the principle of fair, equitable and non-discriminatory treatment of all people within society, and by the idea that female labour cannot be isolated from the overall economic and social context.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Without repeating the statistics that have already been compiled most successfully at OECD, ILO and the EEC, and without paying too much attention to the figures themselves but rather their underlying trends, one finds that "while the participation rates of women differ from one country to the next, their share in total employment has increased over the last fifteen years in most countries - spectacularly in some - and has fallen only in a few".(3) The average rate is 46.2.

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1) The Council of the OECD agreed that the Conference would be preceded by consultations with BIAC and TUAC, for which both advisory committees prepared written comments. Under Item 4 of the Agenda, the President of the Conference informed participants of the results of these consultations.

2) Cf. Equal Opportunities for Women, OECD, Paris, 1979.
3) Ibid., and "Equal Opportunities and Treatment for Female Workers", ILO, International Labour Conference, 1975.

It also emerges that an increasing number of married women work, which means coping with problems associated with being both homemaker and wage-earner.

The distribution of women by economic sector shows that their relatively low percentage is dwindling in agriculture, that the industrial sector employs between a quarter and a third of the female workers, while the tertiary sector occupies a high proportion of the total number of female workers (about 42.3 per cent).

Within the industrial sector, certain branches employ a large number of women (clothing and textiles, for example) while others employ many fewer, such as building, or the glass and petroleum industries.

An examination of the jobs occupied by women, or their position in the occupational hierarchy, will show that the majority of women occupy particular types of jobs (services, sales, nursing, clerical) and that their number decreases as the level of responsibility increases, although essential progress has been achieved in this field over the last decade.

This situation is notably due to the fact that sex-based stereotypes influence educational or occupational choices leading to the selection of traditionally "male" and "female" occupations.

2. OCCUPATIONAL INTEGRATION OR REINTEGRATION

Many women have considerable difficulties finding a job. This is often attributed to lack of appropriate education and skills.

In principle it is necessary to persuade young persons leaving school, as well as their parents, of the value of qualified professional training. The government and all responsible groups of public life should take part in this information work. Enterprises do, of course, also have a role to play, but their action can only be complementary.

While some employers claim an inability to find qualified women to fill higher level and male-oriented jobs, others are discovering that women with education and training are quite capable of handling non-traditional jobs. In some instances, however, even highly qualified women meet resistance from male managers or fellow workers who are not used to having women as their equals or as their supervisors in the workplace.

a) Counselling

Education or counselling services should provide greater information about career opportunities now open to women.

b) Embarking upon a Working Life

In view of the fact that many young people are unaware or untrained to occupy the jobs available to them, BIAC considers that governments should support schemes to facilitate passage from school or university to the enterprise.

In this connection, schemes such as alternate or concerted education, employment training contracts or practical training courses are interesting, as they enable young people to try out certain jobs to which they may wish to commit their futures and discover certain trades, while enabling heads of firms to see that women can do new or non-traditional jobs.

These schemes should be open without any age limit to women who wish to re-enter working life after varying periods of absence.

c) Training and Retraining

Like basic education, vocational adult training or retraining should be open to both sexes; in some cases, to make up for particular inadequacies, it may be necessary to plan for special training programmes. These will be upgrading courses, which should subsequently enable people to either acquire better qualifications or learn a non-traditional trade.

When women stop work in order to raise their children for shorter or longer periods, governments should encourage facilities for their retraining.

An information policy should be developed for the benefit of women, in order to make them aware of the usefulness, for them, of retraining.

It would also be advisable to demonstrate, by the force of examples, that women can do traditionally male jobs (welding, radio-TV repairs, plumbing, coach or bus driving, etc.) and make these examples known in all circles.

5. FAMILY AND WORKING LIFE

As long as attitudes, within the couple, do not change, women will continue to bear the brunt of household chores or child-raising tasks. We have seen that the number of married women in the workforce is increasing, and that single-parent families are also undergoing a rapid increase.

No effort should be spared to enable employees to reconcile their working and family life. This does not mean that the measures to be recommended should be reserved for women: they should be instrumental in permitting men to reconsider their role in the family, even if, in the first stage, women are to be the prime beneficiaries.

The harmonisation of family and working life should be viewed, in our opinion, from two angles:

- patterns of working time
- working conditions.

a) Patterns of Working Time

Enterprises have designed extremely varied schemes, adapted to their needs and their staff's needs, for adapting the patterns of working time.

The two most widespread examples are flexible time and part-time work.

i) Flexible time

Flexible time, which makes it possible, subject to a "time core", to vary workers' hours of arrival and departure, enables them to choose their working hours according to their personal desires. This form of time arrangement, which does not affect the duration of the work itself, has developed considerably over the last few years. Although initially limited to office work, it is now spreading to factories.

Without wishing to conceal the technical difficulties, members of BIAC consider that the public sector and heads of industry should consider the extension of flexible time.

ii) Part-time work

According to ILO, this is work done regularly and voluntarily for a period of time appreciably shorter than the normal periods. Criticised by some, part-time work undeniably meets a need, since over the last few years it has assumed growing importance in most industrialised countries. This trend reflects a general aspiration towards greater flexibility in the pattern of working hours. Judging by its development, part-time work meets a growing need, both of employees and employers.

For employees, part-time work facilitates the integration, reintegration or maintenance of certain categories of persons in employment: young people wishing to continue their studies, people with family responsibilities (often women), old people wishing to retire progressively from active life, sick people gradually resuming an occupational activity.

For employers, it corresponds, in most cases, to an economic necessity: replacement of absent employees, the satisfaction of a need expressed by the public to reconcile employees' rest time with the opening hours of shops, for example, or compensate for peak hours.

However, for employers, part-time work often has a negative side to it, justifying the obstacles to its development: the actual way in which such work is organised, which cannot be easily changed, particularly when applied on a large scale; a larger amount of more complex administrative work, which is basically more expensive.

As social regulations hinge upon full-time work, it would be advisable to attenuate or abolish the disadvantages that this may have for employers and employees, both as regards social and labour legislation, and to grant to those doing part-time work advantages similar and in proportion to those of full-time workers.

Collective agreements generally are the most suitable instrument whereby economic imperatives and workers' wishes may be best reconciled. It cannot, however, be the only one, since in some cases recourse to legislation may be necessary: for partial unemployment, social security or retirement rights, for example.

The government should not discourage firms who have recourse to part-time work, and, in the case of other firms, remove obstacles, and where appropriate, provide incentives. In any event, the employment of part-time staff should not increase the labour costs of firms.

iii) Night work

Originally designed as a measure of protection, the legislation which prohibits women from working in factories and workshops at night has turned out to be an impediment to their recruitment. Thus for reasons of equality between the sexes, the prohibition of night work for women should be removed, taking into consideration the specific situation of women employees who are pregnant.

b) Working Conditions

Women tend to concentrate in so-called female jobs or occupations. Thus a large number of women are to be found in the tertiary sector.

At the same time, women represent a large proportion of the unemployed, often resulting from lack of skills or qualifications required for the available jobs.

A training and information policy aimed at diversifying jobs should be underpinned by a policy for improving working conditions, which might be geared to the following points:

- physical working conditions and environment
- organisation of work
- wage policy
- careers policy

i) Physical working conditions and environment

This expression usually covers matters relating to physical disutilities (noise, vibrations, temperatures, physical or mental stress, etc.) and health and safety matters.

The steady technical progress which improves the physical working conditions encourages women to seek jobs which no longer particularly require physical strength.

There are many examples of automation which enable women to perform tasks from which they have been so far kept away. In this connection it would be desirable to re-examine the existing labour protection regulations in favour of women; in some cases a revision would be appropriate.

ii) Work organisation

Changes in work organisation and better job opportunities and working conditions can help make work, especially factory jobs, more appealing.

Job enrichment and group work can make monotonous or repetitive jobs more interesting, giving a greater variety and depth to the work and greater chances of promotion. It should, however, be noted that group work requires cohesion among members of the group, so part-time work would have to be arranged accordingly.

iii) Wage policy

- Statistics

After stressing that education, counselling and vocational training received by women condition them to occupy either unskilled jobs or jobs for which competition on the labour market plays against them, the OECD report on "Equal Oportunities for Women" refers on several occasions to "wage discrimination". It quotes figures which cannot reliably or precisely reflect the differences that may exist between wages.

The statisticians should compare the pay of men and women holding the same skills, working the same number of hours in the same industry, in a firm of a given size, for the same job.

From the international standpoint, BIAC cannot sufficiently stress the need to harmonise data.

- Regulations

The report on "Equal Opportunities for Women" notes that "the principle of equality of the sexes both in pay and employment is enshrined in international conventions, pacts and directives and in national laws and other instruments of policy".

ILO's Convention No. 100 on equal pay was ratified by almost all OECD Member countries.

Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome and the directive of 12 February 1976 adopted for its implementation commits the member countries of the EEC.

The report goes on to discuss the various systems which guarantee the respect of these principles in OECD countries. It seems difficult, in view of the diversity of legislations and economic situations, to impose the same framework on all, although certain ways of providing effective protection for employees could be envisaged in particular by the social partners:

- greater consideration, in classification systems, of the actual job requirements such as education, training, experience, supervisory responsibilities;
- wage scales applying on an equal basis to men and women;
- application in collective bargaining of the principle of equal pay

Governments, for their part, should ensure that where a minimum legal wage exists, this be applied without any distinction as to sex.

- Prospect

Studies devoted to equal pay suggest that progress has been achieved both in legislative provisions and results obtained: differences between male and female wages have been narrowed, even if the statistics used to measure them are not always as accurate as should be.

Other studies show that inequality of wages between the sexes is basically due to a difference in tasks and roles.

iv) A career policy

A career policy for women is hindered by obstacles of various types. Some of the reasons given by employers for not advancing women to higher positions are: inadequate training or education; conflicting demands of family life; the unwillingness to travel or be transferred; and the reactions of the traditional clientele, unaccustomed to discussing business with a woman.

These various obstacles can be removed gradually.

Women, as well as men, should be made aware of the usefulness for them of both a qualified initial training and furthermore of adult education. Steps should be taken to inform and train female managerial staff in order to balance the hierarchy at all levels.

In this connection, heads of firms should attempt to facilitate internal promotion by publicising job vacancies and job profiles and, if necessary, by encouraging women to apply. Heads and managers of firms should attempt to gradually correct distortions due to sociological bias.

Consideration is often given to a system of employment goals (sometimes called "a quota system") which, in the minds of some, might further the integration of women in the enterprise, or their promotion to certain posts. Though the objectives of such a system are appreciated its application has given rise to difficulties especially when applied without due regard for the qualifications of the individuals involved. BIAC therefore cannot support such systems.

4. WELFARE OF THE FAMILY

The legitimate desire to give "equal opportunity" to women should lead to the rejection of all measures which, on the pretext that they should be of assistance to women, are finally detrimental to their employment and promotion.

It should be noted that the legal and statutory protection that almost all countries have provided for motherhood seems to be sufficient and that it need not be extended, particularly in the form of a prolongation of maternity leave, at risk of holding back the recruitment or advancement of women.

Currently, women assume more of the responsibilities for homemaking, and child care than do men, although at least in some countries this cultural pattern is changing. Unmarried or single persons having care of children face serious problems in co-ordinating family life and professional activities.

a) Absences

It has often been assumed that in general women are more frequently absent than men, even though there may be signs of increasing similarity between the two. What seems to be a better analysis of available data is that absenteeism is greater in lower paying jobs for both men and women.

One may distinguish between short absences usually caused by the need to take care of a parent, spouse or child, and longer absences required, for example, to look after the home or raise children.

i) Short absences

In this case, the two main problems concern the repercussions of the absence on the work contract and the payment of the leave.

As regards the repercussions on the work contract, BIAC willingly accepts and considers that such absences usually do not affect the work contract, subject to certain formalities being accomplished. But it considers that for reasons of worksharing in the home, the necessary provisions, for which the social partners should retain the initiative, should be envisaged from the standpoint of the couple and not the mother alone.

ii) Long absences

Here, it is necessary to stress the need to avoid breaking the ties between the firm and the woman (or the man) for reasons of parental leave. This obviously means that when parental leave follows maternity leave, its duration must be limited and lead to only a suspension in the work contract.

Various formulas might be envisaged, the main object being to remain in contact with the firm, for example by continuing to receive news of the firm (newsletters, press releases, and office circulars), receiving replacement or temporary employment vacancy notices, having the opportunity to do certain jobs at home (typing of reports, studies or surveys, writing, editing, working through computer terminals, etc.).

Action of this kind, by avoiding a complete break with the firm for maternity reasons, is instrumental in facilitating occupational re-integration.

b) Occupational Re-integration

It should be emphasised that the return of women to working life should be facilitated by training facilities, perhaps financed by public funds, permitting women who have stopped work for many years to retrain or learn another trade.

c) Community Facilities

The increased number of working women, particularly married women, and the fact that women of child-bearing age are tending to keep their jobs, are all reasons for developing assistance to cope with the care of young children.

The constraints that child care places upon the occupational activities of women are one of the causes for unequal access to employment, so that facilities for the care of children of pre-school and school age should be developed.

More varied alternatives may be envisaged than the costly solution of public crèches, which has, moreover, been abandoned in countries where it had been introduced. In some countries public school facilities are being used before and after school, for example.

In any case, child care should not become a burden to enterprises, but should be fitted into an overall family policy to be assumed by the government.

5. CONCLUSION

BIAC members confirm that they will continue to play a responsible role in solving the problems related to the employment of women, encouraging and supporting the necessary changes in the workplace that will provide equal access to jobs and to career advancement. The predominant task of the governments should be to provide favourable economic and social framework conditions within which entrepreneurs can play their role regarding better prospects for the employment of women.

V

COMMENTS BY THE TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMITTEE (TUAC)

for the consultation on 15 April 1980 (1)

A basic point of departure for the trade unions is the right of all individuals to have paid employment, which calls for enough and adequate jobs. This is the perspective from which the trade unions in the OECD countries approach the questions to be dealt with at the OECD High Level Conference on the Employment of Women. It is not sufficient merely to accept the need of many women to work; every woman has the right to work and develop herself as an individual in the society.

Women are often deprived of this right due to a number of factors which include social traditions, lack of or the wrong orientation of education, discrimination, and insufficient social services. The current recession has both directly and indirectly aggravated the position of women. On the one hand, a growing number of women want to exercise their right to work, but on the other hand, there is a growing gap between this fundamental right and the factual situation. The unemployment of women is higher than that of men, and in addition to official statistics, the hidden unemployment would most probably considerably strengthen this observation. The recession also contributes to further segregation in the labour market.

The protracted recession has influenced both the number of jobs and the quantity of services available. The economic downturn has been first felt in sectors where there is a considerable number of women workers. A number of these have dropped out of the labour force, and others have been pushed into part-time work, which also means part-time unemployment. Furthermore, as the recession affects the availability of services (child-care facilities, public transport, etc.), it discourages in particular women from entering the labour market or staying in it. Even with the best legislative

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1) The Council of the OECD agreed that the Conference would be preceded by consultations with BIAC and TUAC, for which both advisory committees prepared written comments. Under Item 4 of the Agenda, the President of the Conference informed participants of the results of these consultations.

provisions protecting women workers, the recession in itself can force women out of the labour market.

The technological change in the industrialised societies has affected sectors where a considerable amount of the employees are women. This has created a growing problem for women of finding jobs in accordance with their right to employment while at the same time the need for work has increased. Besides the effects of the recession and technological change, the transfers of certain types of jobs to low-wage countries has been particularly felt among the women workers.

The trade unions can in general agree with the analysis, prepared by the OECD, regarding both the fact of higher unemployment among women and the widespread segregation in the labour market. Women are holding jobs that are less paid than men; they have less opportunities for promotion; and they have less job security. However, TUAC disagrees with the analysis on two specific points:

a) The analysis about competition between women and men on the labour market is a negative approach which would amount to dividing unemployment equally between women and men. This approach merely dramatizes the need for immediate action to prevent such competitive situations.

b) Segregation in the labour market is not only caused by historical factors and direct and indirect discrimination, but also by a lack of public services and the fact that low paid and monotonous jobs have been reserved for young women who have sought paid employment until being married. With more women continuing to work after marriage, the result is further segregation.

A general agreement with the analysis leads to the conclusion that it is now time for action. To be effective, the problems must be looked at from both quantitative and qualitative angles, in the short/medium and long term. In the short/medium term, the quantitative problem can only be solved by policies for increasing employment. But even with enough jobs made available, there will be structural unemployment of women, which again calls for specific programmes. In the short/medium term, qualitative aspects call for a role for governments, through legislation, to assure equal job security for men and women, to protect the rights of applicants and their right to information, to prohibit direct discrimination, to adopt un-biased legislation on social security and taxation, to support measures facilitating both women and men to see to their parental responsibilities, and through increased social services. In the long term, quantitative measures should be a continuation of short-term policies, and in the qualitative sense, social patterns, traditions, and education systems should be influenced.

There is a danger that the Conference accepts the recession, with a prolonged period of slow growth, as an inevitable fact. It seems that the hypothesis is one of an aggravation of the present situation, with policies being designed to adapt to the situation. However, the main policy should be to overcome the recession. In this respect, TUAC does not agree with the orientation of the tentative conclusions of the Conference. The trade unions have on several occasions stressed that the present situation calls urgently for policies for full employment which should be the direct goal of economic policy. Comprehensive employment strategies are long overdue. Structural changes in the economy and the changing pattern of unemployment, which have led to a continuing segmentation of the labour market, call for stronger selective employment measures.

Full employment needs sound economic growth, with equal importance given to the quantitative and qualitative aspects. Growth policies must aim at influencing structural developments and improving the quality of life and working and living conditions. The public sector has a key role in this, also as an employer itself. There is need for specific job creation programmes, the development of training and employment services, and specific job creation incentives for disadvantaged groups, including women, but also other groups, such as the young and elderly workers, long-term unemployed, handicapped, ethnic minorities and migrant workers. Among these, women are often in a particularly difficult position, which should be taken into account in the relevant programmes.

TUAC cannot accept the notion of an inevitable competition between women and men for jobs. All measures should be taken to eliminate situations where competition could arise. Besides, whatever competition there is in the labour market in times of recession is not between social categories but between individuals within these categories when they wish to exercise their right to paid employment. The main problem remains unequal access to employment which will have to be eliminated. But without sound economic growth the equalization of access to employment and of jobs remains a pious wish.

The hidden unemployment of women is high throughout the OECD area and this accentuates the observation that women are bearing a more than proportional share of unemployment. There is currently no analysis on this, and consequently no policies are developed to overcome it. As a first step the OECD should conduct a study on the basis of statistics showing the amount of hidden unemployment in Member countries, broken down by broad social categories.

The growing participation of women entails considerable social changes with many aspects, one of them involving the family and the upbringing of children. In its conclusions, the OECD Analytical Report should include a recognition of joint parental responsibility.

The obligation of both parents to share family responsibilities should be taken into account by the governments in developing policies and appropriate measures to make this possible in practice. A general reduction of the working time is in this connection one important measure to reduce the pressures on families.

Various forms of arrangements on working time concern besides women also other categories, such as youth and elderly workers. The view of the trade unions on part-time work is on the whole negative, in light of the experiences hitherto gained. In discussing the employment of women, undue attention has been paid to this as a solution. It cannot be considered as an acceptable way of increasing the employment of women; its promotion favours primarily the employers who can take recourse to arrangements where workers are less protected than those in full-time employment.

It is doubtful whether one can say that women really want "cyclical" careers. Women are mainly forced to accept such arrangements as other forms of more secured employment are not available.

Any form of part-time work must be subject to stringent legislation concerning pay and social security provisions. The application of such measures must be carefully supervised, and the trade unions will have to have a say in both designing and monitoring rules on this. Similar rules should also govern temporary work and arrangements on flexible working hours. One group with virtually no protection is workers at home: especially in times of economic downturn, employers may be increasingly looking for this kind of workers, many of whom will be women, and agreed standards should be laid down through legislation to cover their position. Finally, if overtime could on the whole be reduced, this would contribute to achieving equality between men and women.

The segregation of women into low-paid jobs cannot be removed as long as there are jobs for which wages are paid that do not allow for a sufficient living. What would be needed is a comprehensive re-evaluation of the work done by at present low-paid categories which include a large share of women. In an integrated economy, all workers have their place, and the work of low-paid categories is as vital for the functioning and development of the society as that of workers who at present are better remunerated.

Information on potential jobs should be more effectively disseminated, to overcome the resistance arising out of tradition, lack of information and prejudices. As the level of education of women is constantly rising, a monitoring of requirements connected for available jobs should be conducted, to ensure that women who have the necessary qualifications are not discouraged from seeking these jobs.

One of the main sources of segregation is inequality in education, as different kinds of careers are still foreseen for girls and boys. Equality in education will have to be achieved, starting with initial education and ranging through opportunities for vocational training, continuous education and the upgrading of skills. This is increasingly important in the face of technological change. Where retraining opportunities exist, they can tend to favour men because of discrepancies in qualifications for work requiring higher skills. Educational programmes should also be available and correspond to the needs of adult women entering the labour force. Investments in education and training must be backed up by other measures to overcome the reluctance of employers to employ women, even if they have the right qualifications. Furthermore, education and training opportunities for women are necessary, even in a situation of full employment, to achieve equality of job opportunities and promotion.

Institutions at the national level should work in close contact with the trade unions. The national mechanisms to ensure that women are not discriminated against should be tripartite. ~~[illegible]~~ Member governments should ensure that the relevant ILO instruments are applied effectively in their own countries and they should work to further strengthen and develop these instruments.

In the TUAC view, the Conference should declare itself for an as concrete programme of action as possible, covering both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the problem, in the short-term and long term. The point of departure should be the overcoming of the economic crisis and establishing policies for full employment, with special attention to the rights and needs of women. This is particularly important as the economic recession has coincided with a large-scale entry of women into the labour market. In this situation, women cannot be asked to make a choice between employment and total or part-time unemployment. This is also a question of maintaining and developing social progress which, in itself, has been closely linked to the entry of women into the labour market.

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Women's employment, as an important element of the future economic and social situation, was discussed at a High Level Conference at OECD Headquarters in Paris on 15-17 April 1985, under the presidency of Mr. Ernest Glinne, Minister of Labour for Denmark. Conference vice-presidents were: Mrs. Johanna Dohnal, Secretary of State in the Federal Chancellery of Austria; the Hon. Ray Marshall, Secretary of Labor for the United States; Mr. Luis Mandoux, Secretary of State for Employment for Portugal; and Mme Nicole Pasquier, Secrétaire d'Etat auprès du Ministère du Travail et de la Participation, chargée de l'emploi féminin for France.

The discussions were based on an analysis by the Secretariat of the OECD which showed that women's participation was growing in most OECD countries, despite the slower growth of employment since 1974-1975. Nevertheless, women in all countries continued to be concentrated into a narrow range of industries and occupations, and to go-ernet occupied jobs of relatively low level and pay.

The Conference took as the point of departure that women and men - as equal partners of society - should have equal opportunities for paid employment, independently of the rate of economic growth and conditions in the labour market. The right to support oneself and to contribute to the economic well-being of one's family is as important for women as for men. In this connection, the Conference reviewed the objective of the 1976 Recommendation of the Council on a General Employment and Manpower Policy, of creating and maintaining employment and improved conditions of working life for all those who are able and want to work, with the support of coherent economic, employment, manpower and social policies. It also emphasized the essential contributions that the employment of women make to economic and social life and the importance of taking this into account in all economic, social and educational policies.

The Conference noted, however, that slow economic growth can increase competition for employment and have unequal effects on men and women, leading to difficulties in assuring equality of access to employment. These difficulties emphasize the need to continue to

vigorously implement employment, training and other policies which ensure that disadvantaged groups are not necessarily affected as a result of continuing high unemployment. It was particularly noted that some categories of minority women suffer double disadvantages within the labour market because of their sex and minority status. The special problems of migrant women in Member countries were also singled out as requiring a study by the OECD, the result of which could prompt interested parties to take appropriate measures to improve the living and working conditions of the migrant women.

The Conference also recognized that, in many countries, women are today bearing a more than proportional share of unemployment, due in many cases to the particular difficulties young women have in entering the labour market, as well as the problems of adult women returning to employment. It agreed that employment and training programmes should be adapted to take account of these deaths, and that women should not be subject to discrimination in the case of dismissals, early retirement and short-time working. Success in the pursuit of these aims is clearly difficult in periods of high unemployment and the most cannot be set as much in the principles involved as in their practical application in the present situation. A positive approach is to invest now in educational development, training and retraining opportunities. This would improve the skills of people who need educational upgrading and additional skills to help them to adapt to new technologies and new types of jobs.

Recognizing the share rights and needs of women to work, the Conference agreed that a major goal for Member countries is to achieve equality between women and men not only in the same time workers family life. A more equal sharing of work inside and outside the home between men and women could give to many women a broader economic and social base for the family and a richer life - for parents and children. More flexible arrangements for working time (for example, in many countries, part-time work on conditions equivalent to full-time work) are enabling working parents to equitably share family responsibilities. Finally, child-care facilities would enable parents to allocate more freely their time between breed-winning and family responsibilities.

These developments can be found in most countries, their varying strengths and combinations being dependent on different traditions and economic considerations. But all OECD countries represented at the Conference agreed that a basic goal for the 1980s should be to remove obstacles to both women and men allocating their time more freely between family responsibilities and paid employment. This means that tax and social security systems and other factors should not bias the decision on whether or not to seek paid employment.

Equal access to employment should, the Conference agreed, be accompanied by measures to overcome the segregation of women in

particular industries and occupations and in jobs of low level and pay. The OECD Analytical Report shows that such employment segregation still persists, despite major efforts of OECD governments to promote discrimination and provide equal opportunities and pay for women. The Conference agreed that such segregation was the result of complex economic and social forces, and that further progress called for an integrated set of policies, including the prohibition by law of direct discrimination, positive action to reduce indirect discrimination through recruitment, training and promotion procedures, as well as efforts to mitigate persistent social prejudices which limit the range of jobs and occupations to which women have access. Such policies can be supported by action in a wide range of other fields. In most cases, however, the success of government action is dependent on the active co-operation and involvement of the social partners.

As major employers, governments have a clear responsibility to set an example. The public sector is the largest employer of women in most countries, and widespread segregation by occupation and grade should be eliminated by anti-discriminatory recruitment, promotion and other policies concerning conditions of employment.

Nevertheless, the Conference emphasized that governments alone could not succeed without a concerted effort by employers' organizations and trade unions. The Conference therefore welcomed the initiatives undertaken by the President of the Conference with the Business and Industry Advisory Committee to OECD (BIAC) and the Trade Union Advisory Committee to OECD (TUAC) and the positive steps being taken by the two sides of industry as set out in their respective reports to the Conference.

In conclusion, the Conference agreed to the following Declaration which reflects the continuing commitment of all OECD countries to equality of employment opportunity and equal pay for men and women.

It was also agreed that the results of the Conference should lead to active consideration and, where appropriate, practical application in the Member countries. The Conference therefore felt it highly desirable that OECD organize a meeting of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee at Ministerial level to discuss, not least, the full employment implications of the emerging economic and social situation which would include the outcomes of this Conference as well as those of the 1977 High Level Conference on Youth Unemployment.

DECLARATION ON POLICIES FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

The High Level Conference on the Employment of Women of OECD Member countries

CONSIDERING that men and women, as equal members of society, should have equal opportunities for paid employment, independently of the rate of economic growth and conditions in the labour market;

CONSIDERING that Member governments have a continuing commitment to provide equality of employment opportunity and pay for women and men;

CONSIDERING that the responsibilities of men and women for the upbringing of children are dependent not only on social and educational policies but on their capacity to provide income through employment;

CONSIDERING that men and women have the joint responsibility for the upbringing and care of children;

CONSIDERING that the participation of women in the labour market has risen and is likely to continue to rise in most Member countries, and has made and will make an essential contribution to economic and social developments;

CONSIDERING that constraints on economic growth in the medium term will mean a challenge for governments to improve their policies in order to meet the aspirations of men and women for employment;

HAVING REGARD to the Declaration by Ministers of Education at the OECD in Paris, 20th October, 1978, and in particular to their statement that one of the aims deserving priority consideration was "to adopt positive educational measures which contribute to the achievement of equality between girls and boys, women and men";

HAVING REGARD to the Recommendation of the Council on a General Employment and Manpower Policy of 5th March, 1976, for "creating and maintaining employment and improved conditions of working life for all those who are able and want to work, with the support of relevant economic, employment, manpower and social policies";

TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION the arrangements, notably of a constitutional nature, which in certain Member countries affect the competence of governments in relation to the following aims:

DECLARES

A. The following aims should be given priority consideration in the formulation of the relevant policies of Member countries, bearing in mind the possibility of constrained growth of employment opportunities:

i) to adopt employment policies which offer men and women equal employment opportunities, independently of the rate of economic growth and conditions in the labour market;

ii) to adopt policies to deal with unemployment which do not discriminate either directly or indirectly against women;

iii) to implement an integrated set of policies to eliminate segregation in employment and reduce differentials in average earnings between women and men by means of:

a) the prohibition by law of direct discrimination;

b) positive action to reduce indirect discrimination in recruitment, training and promotion, and in other terms and conditions of employment;

c) the reduction of persistent social biases and negative institutional practices which limit the range and level of occupations open to girls and women; and

d) the implementation of equal pay for work of equal value;(1)

iv) to give attention to the special problems of minority women in the relevant items herein;

v) to encourage the development, in co-operation with employers and unions, of more flexible working-time arrangements (e.g. part-time, flexi-time) on an optional basis, in order to achieve the more efficient functioning of labour markets and provide a wider range of employment choices to women and men; special consideration should be given to workers, both men and women, with responsibilities for children;

vi) to provide for part-time workers levels of pay and social security benefits which are proportional to those of full-time workers, and the same levels of working conditions and standards of protection;

vii) to endeavour to ensure that the provisions of taxation, social security and child-support systems do not bias the decisions made by both women and men as to how they allocate their time between paid employment and other activities;

viii) to stimulate and further the development of, and increased access to employment, training and "recurrent" education programmes, particularly for women whose skills need upgrading and for women re-entering the labour force, taking into account new technologies and industrial developments;

ix) to review the provisions of labour legislation, for example protective legislation for women, to ensure its consistency with the goal of equal opportunity in employment, and to improve working conditions and the environment for all workers;

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1) As defined, for example, in ILO Convention 100 and Directives on Equal Pay of the Council of the European Communities.

x) to guarantee pregnant women and women returning from maternity leave protection from dismissal and the right to return to work without loss of earned benefits;

xi) to develop education so as to progressively eliminate traditional sex role stereotyping in curricula and to provide a full range of educational choices for young women and young men, both for further education and skill qualifications for employment;

xii) to use more actively those measures directly available to governments to expand equal opportunities for women, e.g. recruitment, training and promotion in the public sector, employment exchanges, employment creation programmes and, in certain countries, regional development policies and public procurement.

xiii) to ensure that there are effective organisational arrangements for the co-ordination and implementation of policy over the whole range of relevant public policies which affect the equal employment opportunities for women;

xiv) and to ensure that the special problems of migrant women are given consideration in relation to all the aims set out above.

B. That the achievement of equal opportunity in employment and the elimination of wage differentials between women and men are dependent not only on government measures but on the concerted efforts of employers and trade unions.

C. That the pursuit of these aims by Member countries will be facilitated by strengthened co-operation through the competent bodies of the OECD, in particular by studies of women's employment in the context of emerging economic and social conditions, and by periodic assessments and evaluations of the implementation of equal opportunity and wage equality policies for women.

Appendix

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND OBSERVERS

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

PRESIDENT

Mr. Svend AUKEN
Minister of Labour, Denmark

AUSTRALIA

Mr. R.M. TAYLOR	Secretary, Department of Employment and Youth Affairs
Mr. P.P. DONOVAN	Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the OECD
Mr. A. ABRAHART	Assistant Secretary, Department of Employment and Youth Affairs
Ms K. TAPERELL	Director, Office of Women's Affairs, Department of Home Affairs
Ms E. LOVERING	Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Employment and Youth Affairs
Ms R. WALKER	Office of Women's Affairs, Department of Home Affairs
Ms D. MICHIE	Department of Industrial Relations
Dr. J.D. BELL	Permanent Delegation to the OECD

AUSTRIA

M. Dr Gerhard WEISSENBERG	Ministre fédéral des Affaires sociales
Mme Johanna DOHNAL	Secrétaire d'Etat à la Chancellerie fédérale
M. Dr Peter JANKOWITSCH	Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent auprès de l'OCDE
Mme Dr Dorothea GAUDART	Ministerialrat, Chef de section au ministère des Affaires sociales
Mme Dr Irmgard LEINER	Secrétariat de Mme Dohnal
Mme Dr Christine REICHT	Délégation permanente auprès de l'OCDE

BELGIUM

M. Hervé ROBINET	Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent auprès de l'OCDE
M. Piet SIMONS	Secrétaire général, Ministère de l'Emploi et du Travail
M. Joseph DEROO	Directeur d'administration, Ministère de l'Emploi et du Travail
Mme Ballienne DUMONT	Chargée de mission auprès du ministre de l'Emploi et du Travail
Mme VAN ACKER	Membre du Cabinet du ministre de l'Emploi et du Travail
M. Louis DE CLERCK	Délégation permanente auprès de l'OCDE

CANADA

Honourable Lloyd AXWORTHY	Minister of Employment and Immigration and Minister of State for the Status of Women, Government of Canada
Honourable Robert G. ELGIE	Minister of Labour, Province of Ontario
Mr. Maurice A.J. LAFONTAINE	Associate Deputy Minister/ Vice Chairman, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission

Advisors

Ms. Maureen O'NEIL	Co-ordinator, Status of Women Canada
Ms. Christine TOURIGNY	Secrétaire générale associée à la Condition féminine, Province du Québec
Mr. Earl MANSFIELD	Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Advanced Education and Manpower, Province of Alberta
Ms. Marnie CLARKE	Director, Women's Bureau of Ontario, Province of Ontario
Ms. Olivia JACOBS	Chief, Women's Employment, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission

Ms. Susan CARTER	Director, Intergovernmental Affairs/ External Liaison, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission
Ms. Carol DYAS	Senior Policy Analyst, Status of Women Canada
Ms. Kay MORRISON	Acting Chief, Social Needs Programmes, Strategic Policy and Planning, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission

Permanent Delegation to the OECD

Mr. Stephen H. KENNEY	Acting Permanent Representative
Mr. Tom BURNS	Counsellor
Mr. Alex McNIVEN	Secretary

DENMARK

Mr. Hans TABOR	Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the OECD
Mr. Kaj WESTERGAARD	Director General, Directorate for Employment
Mr. Niels Ole ANDERSEN	Head of Division, Ministry of Labour
Mr. Leif Chr. HANSEN	Head of Secretariat Unit, Ministry of Labour
Mr. Henrik KASSEBEER	Adviser, Ministry of Labour
Mr. Tage RASMUSSEN	Head of Section, Ministry of Labour
Mrs. Lilian FUHR	Head of Secretariat Unit, Ministry of Education
Mrs. Else Marie KJERGAARD	Head of Secretariat Unit, Council of Equal Rights for Women
Mr. Finn JØNCK	Deputy Permanent Representative to the OECD
Mr. Morten DEAD	Permanent Delegation to the OECD
Mrs. Bettina HOLTHØFT	Adviser

[redacted]

Mr. Arvo AALTO	Minister of Labour
Mr. Tapio [redacted]	Secretary-General, Ministry of Labour
Mrs. Ilse RIIS	Assistant Director, Ministry of Labour
Mrs. Pirkko [redacted]	Research Fellow, Ministry of Labour
Mrs. Tuulikki [redacted]	Education Secretary, Council for Equality
Mrs. Eireti [redacted]	Secretary of Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mr. Pekka [redacted]	Counsellor, Permanent Representative to the OECD
Mr. Seppo [redacted]	Permanent Delegation to the OECD
Mrs. Aino Elina [redacted]	Permanent Delegation to the OECD

[redacted]

Mme Nicole [redacted]	Secrétaire d'Etat chargé de l'emploi féminin
M. Christian d'[redacted]	Ambassadeur Représentant permanent auprès de l'OCDE
M. Francis [redacted]	Directeur du Cabinet du Secrétaire d'Etat
Mlle Catherine [redacted]	Conseiller technique
M. Pierre [redacted]	Délégué à l'emploi
M. Pierre [redacted]	Directeur des relations du travail
M. Pierre [redacted]	Administrateur civil à la Délégation à l'emploi
Mme C. [redacted]	Chargé de mission à la Délégation à l'emploi
Mlle Monique [redacted]	Administrateur civil chargé de mission à la Délégation à l'emploi
M. [redacted]	Administrateur civil à la Direction des relations du travail
Mme [redacted]	Chargé de mission à la Division des relations internationales
Mlle Brigitte [redacted]	Chargé de mission auprès du secrétaire délégué à la Condition féminine et à la Famille

M. Robert ROBERT	Chargé de mission au Secrétariat général du Comité interministériel de coopération économique

* * * *

Mme Monique PELLETIER	Ministre délégué auprès du Premier ministre, Chargé de la Famille et de la Condition féminine, Présidente par délégation du Premier ministre du Comité interministériel de l'action pour les femmes

[illegible]

Mrs. Anne FIDEL	Secretary of State, Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung
Mrs. Marlies KIRCH	Head of "Arbeitsstab Frauenpolitik", Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit
Mr. Robert EDWARD	Deputy Head, Permanent Delegation to the OECD
Dr. Maria DEVE	Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung
Mrs. Luise JUNG	Bundesamt für Arbeit
Dr. Christine BÜRMANN	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft
Dr. Eghart KRÜGER	Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft
Dr. Konrad LUDIG	Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung
Dr. Carlheinz RITTER	Permanent Delegation to the OECD
Dr. Wolfgang VOGL	Permanent Delegation to the OECD

[illegible]

M. Dimitri [illegible]	Administrateur, Représentant permanent suppléant auprès de l'OCDE
M. Daniel [illegible]	Représentant permanent adjoint auprès de l'OCDE
M. Georges [illegible]	Délégation permanente auprès de l'OCDE
Mme Lila [illegible]	Délégation permanente auprès de l'OCDE

[illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Mr. J.P. [redacted]	[redacted] Permanent Representative to the UNCS
Mr. R.B. [redacted]	Deputy Permanent Representative to the UNCS
Ms. J.C. [redacted]	Permanent Delegation to the UNCS
Mr. K. [redacted]	Key Standard High Commission, London

[redacted]

Mr. Ingar Lorcan [redacted]	Minister, Ministry of Labour
Mr. Kjetil [redacted]	Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ms. Karin [redacted]	Deputy Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mr. Kjartan [redacted]	Head of Division, Ministry of Local Government and Labour
Mr. Terje [redacted]	Head of Division, Directorate of Environment
Mr. Erling [redacted]	Counsellor, Royal Norwegian Council
Mr. Bertrun [redacted]	Secretary, Key Ecological Delegation of Royal Norway [illegible]
Mr. Reidar [redacted]	Attorney at Law
Mr. Trond [redacted]	Deputy Permanent Representative to the UNCS

[redacted]

M. Luis [redacted]	Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Emploi
M. Domingos [redacted]	Ambassadeur, Représentant permanent auprès de l'ONUDI
Mme Liana de Barros [redacted]	Directeur de la Coopération à la Commission Nationale
M. Luis [redacted]	Directeur général de la Direction de l'ONUDI Ministère du Travail

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

UNITED STATES

Representative

The Honourable Ray MARSHALL	Secretary of Labor

Alternate Representatives

The Honourable Herbert BALDUS	Ambassador, Permanent Representative to the OECD
The Honourable Doron WEINSTEIN	Assistant to the President

Special Adviser

Lillian CARTER	Plains, Georgia

Advisers

Herbert B. BLACKMAN	Associate Deputy Under-Secretary, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor
Carin A. CLAUSS	Solicitor, Department of Labor
Alexis M. HERMAN	Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor
Robert J. MONTGOMERY	Officer-in-Charge, OECD Affairs Section, Office of OECD, European Community and Atlantic Political-Economic Affairs, Bureau of European Affairs, Department of State
Eleanor Holmes NORTON	Chair, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Janet L. NORWOOD	Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor

COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

M. Henk VREDELING	Vice-président de la Commission
M. J.P. LEMAL	Délégué permanent auprès de l'OCDE
Mme Mol BARENDREGT	Chef de Cabinet de M. Vredeling
M. DARRIS	Directeur de l'Office statistique des Communautés
Mme Jacqueline MORIN	Administrateur principal, Direction générale de l'emploi et des affaires sociales
Mme M. PICHAULT	Direction générale de l'emploi et des affaires sociales
M. Alexandre STARKOVITCH	Délégation permanente auprès de l'OCDE

OBSERVERS

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

M. Francis BLANCHARD	Directeur général
Mme Micheline DAUBERT	Chef du Bureau européen
Mme M. JARVIS	Office for Women Workers' Questions

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

M. [illegible]	Chef de la Division des affaires sociales
Mlle Graziella BRIANDONI	Chef du Bureau de Paris

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